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The
American Historical Review

WHAT CHINESE HISTORIANS ARE DOING IN THEIR
OWN HISTORY ¹

AN important phase of the "new thought movement" in China today is an insistent demand for a scientific re-evaluation of the nation's cultural heritage. A concerted effort is deemed necessary to preserve the continuity between the present and the past, and to forestall a too violent break between the old order and the new; thus confirming the truth of Ruskin's words that: "the power of every great people, as of every living tree, depends on its not effacing, but confirming and concluding, the labors of its ancestors." In so far as the movement aims to reconstruct the past by the methods of literary and historical criticism, it is a very old one, dating back to the so-called school of "Han Learning" which flourished in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and aimed at the overthrow of the subjective Sung philosophy by scholarly, objective criticism of the original texts. Unfortunately this critical movement was interrupted after 1800 by the unmistakable decay of the ruling dynasty, by the ensuing political turmoil, and by the too violent commercial impact of the Occidental powers. But the modern revival began with the publication in the early 'nineties of K'ang Yu-wei's "The Forged Classics of the Wang Mang Period", and "Confucius' Ideals of Social Reform", which reopened the problems of historical criticism where the great eighteenth-century scholars had left off. The work was continued by his pupil, Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, but in the last ten years has been carried on with new vigor by Dr. Hu Shih and other Western-trained students who have written voluminously on historical method. The reform movement of a generation ago adopted a slogan which was much used by scholars like Chang T'ai-yen, and officials of the type of Chang Chih-tung; namely, "the preservation of the best elements in the nation's past" (*pao-t'sun kuo-t'sui*). It expressed a hope which these leaders long entertained, that in spite of the adoption of

¹ Paper read before the meeting of the American Historical Association at Indianapolis, December 31, 1928.

the purely technological aspects of Western civilization, a large measure of the original purity of the Chinese culture might be preserved. Time, however, proved the impracticability of this negative concept. Before long, therefore, the slogan was changed so that it no longer read the "preservation", but the "reorganization of the national heritage" (*cheng-li kuo ku*), for it became increasingly clear that only by a sweeping reorganization could anything be salvaged.

The first problem that confronts the Chinese investigator is the sheer mass of printed and manuscript material that lies at his disposal. This, of course, is to be expected in a country that has the longest unbroken history of any nation in the world, and that began printing books six centuries and more before printing was practised in Europe. It is not surprising, then, to find that even a thousand years ago the Chinese literati were oppressed with the mass of their literary records; for so long ago as that a native scholar heaved a sigh and exclaimed: "Where shall one begin in the study of the seventeen dynastic histories?" Today, however, the number of these dynastic histories is twenty-six, comprising nearly four thousand books; not to speak of the far greater number of private histories, and multitudinous other works of an historical nature. The problem of compassing Chinese literature was serious enough when the native culture was all the culture a Chinese needed to know, but it became positively bewildering when in the space of a generation the culture of a whole new Western world was added to it. Naturally the two cultures could be coördinated and made manageable only by the most thorough-going re-evaluation and reorganization.

More important, however, than the magnitude of written materials is their lack of systematization and the consequent difficulty in using them. Those who do have occasion to make use of the older Chinese literature are quite unanimous in saying that, in the light of modern requirements, very little of it was written with a definite plan. As in the case of Western literature before the advent of departmentalized knowledge, facts of every description are all too readily jumbled together in beautiful confusion. To be sure, a few great historians like Ku Yen-wu of the seventeenth, and Chang Hsüeh-ch'eng of the eighteenth century emphasized the importance of orderly arrangement and ease of access to materials. One thinks at once of the monumental helps to scholarship which that generation of writers produced: the K'ang-hsi dictionary of 44,000 characters; the world's largest printed encyclopedia (*T'u Shu Chi Ch'eng*)² in

² Mr. Lionel Giles of the British Museum estimates that this encyclopedia contains between three and four times the number of words in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (11th edition). It should be added, however, that the articles are not

5000 volumes; Ku Tsu-yü's "Elements of Historical Geography", published in 1667 in 80 volumes; the *Ching Chi Tsuan Ku* glossary, and the *P'ei Wen Yün Fu* phrase-dictionary in which any important word or phrase in the Chinese language can be traced to its source, and its uses in the classical literature exhibited. But there are many wants which need to be supplied: we need classified indexes to all the places, names, and facts recorded in the dynastic histories; we need to facilitate the process of finding words in dictionaries, articles in encyclopedias, and books in libraries; and all the standard literature of antiquity needs to be repunctuated, the texts collated, and difficult passages annotated in the colloquial style. It was formerly supposed that a good scholar could do without such helps, for it was assumed that he carried these very elementary facts in his mind. This, of course, is no longer practicable now, if, indeed, it ever was in the past.

Still more important than ease of access to materials is the ability to handle them in a scientific manner. It is quite true that outside the realm of the physical sciences the so-called school of "Han Learning" of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries employed critical methods that were in no respect inferior to the best scholarship in Europe at the same time. The only difficulty was that the realms in which those scholars carried their methods out were too restricted—that is to say, there were some fields into which they did not dare to venture. They did not hesitate, for example, to apply the most rigid scientific tests to the literature of history and philosophy, but they drew the line at a few of the most ancient classics, assuming that these, at least, were beyond the reach of the critic. One of the chief concerns of the modern historical movement has been to approach even the most ancient documents in the spirit of doubt rather than of belief and so break down every self-imposed barrier to knowledge. So popular has this attitude become that Mr. Ch'ien Hsüan-t'ung, a very able teacher in the Peking National University, and an ardent sponsor of the new freedom, has himself taken the name and is always referred to in contemporary literature as "Mr. Doubter of Antiquity" (I-ku hsien-sheng). This doubting approach to the past laid the foundation for another important reform in Chinese historical method which Dr. Hu Shih often refers to as the "bold use of hypothesis" (*ta tan-ti chia-she*). The older scholarship was usually too blinded by the vain search after finalities to appreciate the advantage of setting up hypotheses merely to see original in the sense of having been written for this work alone, but are abstracts taken from the whole range of Chinese literature as it existed before 1726 when the encyclopedia was first published. See Giles, "An Alphabetical Index to the Chinese Encyclopaedia, *Ch'in Ting Ku Chin T'u Shu Chi Ch'eng*", published by the British Museum.

whether or not they could be knocked down. But those who were not too proud to use this method—men like Wang Ch'ung in the Han period (first century A.D.), Liu Chih-chi in the T'ang (eighth century A.D.), Cheng Ch'iao in the Sung (twelfth century A.D.), and Ku Yen-wu, Tai Chen, Chang Hsüeh-ch'eng, and T'sui Shu in the Ch'ing period (seventeenth and eighteenth centuries)—are now hailed as the great creative minds of their day. The vitality of the present renaissance is no better attested than in this new doubting approach to the past, and the abandon with which the younger scholars now break into print with new hypotheses.

As one might suppose, the first problems demanding investigation were those about which doubts were most numerous, and the accumulated debris of antiquity was heaviest; that is to say, the problem of Chinese origins. In 1924 a symposium on this question appeared in the *Nu Li Chou K'an*, conducted by Ku Chieh-kang, who had studied for a time under Dr. Hu Shih. Mr. Ku was then only thirty-one years of age, and had never studied abroad, but his firm grasp of the best traditions of native scholarship, together with what he had learned of Western methods, made it possible for him to conduct the symposium in the most rigorous scientific manner. These studies were published in 1927 in a remarkable book entitled *Ku Shih Pien*, or "Discussions in Ancient History". Reviewing this work in the *Hsien Tai P'ing Lun* a few months later, Dr. Hu Shih declared it to be the most epoch-making study of ancient Chinese history that had appeared in China for a century and a half. As an example of the best type of modern historical criticism in China, and as a record of the whole "new thought movement" of the past ten years, it deserves to be put into the English language. One would obviously be unfair to Mr. Ku if one undertook to state his conclusions without the necessary supporting evidence, but a few outstanding thoughts may here be set down as showing the trend of his and others' investigations.

In the first place, he is convinced that the first four sections of the *Shu Ching*, or "Classic of History", which traditional scholarship has always assumed to be the oldest literary fragment of Chinese antiquity—dating back at least to the twenty-third century before our era—are in reality only idealistic reconstructions of the fourth or fifth centuries before Christ. He believes that the whole of the so-called "model emperor lore" arose during the Spring and Autumn³ period under the ardent desire of Chinese philosophers like Confucius, Mo-ti, and Mencius to substitute a moral for a military solution of

³ That is to say, the period covered by the "Spring and Autumn Annals", 722-481 B.C.

the interminable conflict that was devastating 'China in those times. Just as the ancient Hebrews sought justification for their noblest ideals by pointing to an idealized future, so the ancient Chinese sought it by pointing to an idealized past. We need not suppose that in either case there was any effort to deceive; the people of that day were more concerned to have moral certainty than to have historical accuracy. Then, too, the scantiness of literary records in that time made it easier to fill the gaps of antiquity with conjecture than to search laboriously for facts; just as the destruction of the ancient literature in Ch'in times (third century B.C.) opened the door to forgery in the ensuing Han period. The studies of Mr. Ku and others now make it possible to strip off the successive layers of accretions of which our older conceptions of Chinese antiquity were built up. The emperor known to history as the Great Yü is the only one of the so-called "model emperors" to be mentioned in the earliest literary record, namely the *Shih Ching*, or "Classic of Poetry". The Han clans encountered the Yü lore when they began to move south of the Yang-tze river, say about 900 B.C., and this cult of Yü is still active in Chekiang province where the tomb of the Great Yü is reputed to be. The Yao and Shun lore, on the other hand, although chronologically earlier, actually made its appearance in history much later, perhaps shortly before the time of Confucius. This accounts for the very significant fact that neither Yao nor Shun are mentioned in the "Odes", nor outside the supposedly spurious sections of the "Canon of History". In the same manner the chronologically much earlier Shen Nung is actually unknown till he is mentioned in the book of Mencius; Huang-ti does not appear until Ch'in times; and P'an-ku, the Chinese Creator, is unknown to literature written before the Han dynasty (206 B.C.). This curious phenomenon was pointed out more than a century ago by the great critical scholar, T'sui Shu,⁴ but its full significance was not apparent until our own day.

With the collapse of the elaborate chronological framework of antiquity goes the alluring concept of an ancient golden age and of a

⁴ No better proof is needed of the mental distraction that overtook China in the past century of harassing contact with the West than the fact that the works of T'sui Shu, the most courageously critical of eighteenth-century historians, were lost to Chinese scholarship for exactly a hundred years, or until 1921 when they were rediscovered and again brought to the attention of the world by Dr. Hu Shih. It is true that a part of T'sui Shu's work had been incorporated in the *Chi Fu T'sung Shu* collection of reprints, but it had escaped the notice of even so penetrating a scholar as Liang Ch'i-ch'ao. Today it may confidently be said that T'sui Shu's indomitable spirit has become the model of this generation of historical writers. It is worth noting, however, that long before his works were rediscovered to China an original edition of 1822 lay on the shelves of the Library of Congress. In 1928 the library secured another original edition from Japan, and it is known that at least one other copy of the same edition has recently appeared in Peking.

vast, unified empire under the sway of benevolent rulers, which haunted Chinese history, and dominated Confucian political theory for more than two thousand years. Gone is that beautiful picture of emperors who rose to power by sheer merit, who ruled by virtuous example rather than by force, and who voluntarily relinquished the throne when they discovered others more competent and virtuous than themselves. These were the kind of kings the philosophers wanted the warring satraps to be, but most assuredly they were not the kind of kings that ruled in China in the twenty-eighth century before Christ. Likewise the picture of a vast empire under one united rule did express a long unrealized ambition that was finally achieved by Ch'in Shih Huang in 256 B.C., but it was never once realized previous to his day except in the imagination of philosophic historians.

If we accept these far-reaching conclusions, we must be prepared, at the same time, for a very appreciable shortening of traditional Chinese chronology. It is still possible to speak in terms of three millenniums of recorded history, but it is manifestly impossible to speak of four or five millenniums as the uninformed still do. The oldest extant inscriptions—those on oracle bones discovered in Honan in 1898—perhaps go back to 1200 B.C. The oldest literary classic—the “Book of Poetry”—has poems which perhaps reach back to the tenth century before our era. But all hope of pushing authentic Chinese history to an antiquity greater than this must rest on the results of future scientific excavation⁵ of which almost nothing has so far been accomplished.

The study of the “Odes” has undergone radical changes during recent years, and is typical of an entirely new emphasis in Chinese literature. The traditional connection of Confucius with these poems is now very generally discredited. The reference in Ssu-ma Ch'ien to a sweeping expurgation at his hands is not borne out by a study of the “Odes” as we now have them, nor by the recorded words of Confucius himself, who commonly referred to them as “the three hundred poems” as though these were all that were known in his day. It may be, however, as the “Analects”⁶ seem to imply, that Confucius had a share in rectifying the music by which the

⁵ Excavations of an accidental nature, and mostly for commercial purposes, have been in process for more than two thousand years. But the provenience of very few of the jades or inscribed bronzes which have come from beneath the ground is now known. Until such objects can be studied *in situ*, and it can be definitely established from what cultural centres they arose, it will be perilous to draw any far-reaching conclusions from them.

⁶ This is the name which Legge, the eminent translator, gave to the first of the Four Books called *Lun Yü* or “Discourses and Dialogues” of Confucius.

"Odes" were anciently sung. The age-old attempt to interpret these poems as part of the Confucian canon—ignoring the fact that they are for the most part folk-songs expressing the deepest feelings and longings of the common people—did a great deal to blind the Chinese of former dynasties to their true meaning. These meanings are found today, not from a meticulous study of individual words, but from the sense and the rhythm of the whole sentence. Investigation is directed toward an understanding of the customs and social aspirations that prevailed in various strata of society at the beginning of the Chou dynasty when the poems were first sung, thus giving to these poems an entirely new historical significance, and regarding them as our most reliable source for a knowledge of pre-Confucian times. The officially prepared "Canon of History" (*Shu Ching*) can thus be checked on the social side by the more natural and truer picture of antiquity preserved for us in the "Odes"; in the same manner as the T'ang, Sung, and Yüan (seventh to fourteenth century A.D.), dynastic histories can be better understood when studied in conjunction with the poems, novels, and dramas produced in the same times.

The authoritative place which the "Odes" hold for a study of the Western Chou period (1122–770 B.C.) is now claimed for the "Analects" in the Spring and Autumn period. Most of what we know about the life and times of Confucius is dependent on this source. Yet, curiously enough, neither the "Analects" nor the book of Mencius were looked upon as first-rate classics until the T'ang and the Sung dynasties (618–1280 A.D.), for it must never be forgotten that the Four Books took their position above the traditional Five Classics only after Chu Hsi (died 1200 A.D.) and others used them to combat, and finally to absorb, the Buddhist world view. Prior to that time books like the *Chou-li*, the ancient text of the *Shang Shu*, and the "Classic of Filial Piety", which are now regarded as spurious, held a position of comparative superiority. But valuable as the "Analects" are today, they also have not entirely escaped the subversive hand of the critic. As long ago as the eighteenth century the indomitable T'sui Shu brought forward convincing proof to show that not a little of the material in the last five of the twenty sections of the "Analects" belongs to a later time. Certain misinterpretations of the life and character of Confucius, which are now current in the West, can be traced to irrelevancies and misstatements of fact that appear in these sections. Moreover, in the fifteen authentic sections there are certain closing paragraphs which have suffered corruption in the process of transmission. It is well known that prior to the invention of paper, individual sections of a work often circulated separately. Being then inscribed on slips of bamboo, or on rolls of

silk, it was easy for the loose ends of paragraphs to be mutilated and for irrelevant annotations to creep into the text.

There is much divergence of opinion among Chinese scholars on the question of Confucius's authorship of the "Spring and Autumn Annals". The "Analects" give no warrant for connecting the name of Confucius with them. Three statements in the Book of Mencius are sole authority for believing that Confucius ever wrote them. Mencius, however, is by no means an infallible historical guide. Born more than a century after the death of the master, he lived in an age that was moved by the appeal to antiquity, and he did not refrain from making that appeal when it gave point to his moral teachings. Students like Dr. Hu Shih, who perhaps are more concerned with the philosophical than with the historical aspects of the "Spring and Autumn", are convinced that it exemplifies admirably Confucius's manner of "rectifying terminology" (*cheng ming*), i.e., making words correspond to realities. Others like Ch'ien Hsüan-t'ung and Ku Chieh-kang hold with the great social reformer, Wang An-shih, of the eleventh century that the Annals are merely a series of "disjointed court records" (*tuan lan ch'ao pao*) of which Mencius and Mo-ti inform us there were many others in their day. Furthermore, Confucius himself declared that he was a "transmitter and not a creator". Those who think of Confucius in terms of these highly charged sayings of his which have come down to us in the "Analects", find it difficult to believe that the prosaic "Spring and Autumn Annals", whose longest entry consists of forty words, and whose shortest comprises only one word, could have come from his hands. The tendency is to disassociate the name of Confucius from every one of the ancient classics, and to assume that his sole connection with them was to use them as text-books for the exposition of his social and political ideas.

The very complicated problem of the relationship of the *Tso Chuan* to the "Spring and Autumn Annals" seems to have reached a stage in which a solution is in sight, if, indeed, a solution has not already been found. The evidence is all but conclusive that the *Tso Chuan* was not originally intended as a commentary to the "Annals", but was a part of the *Kuo-yü*, or "Narrative of the States", which was written in the time of the Warring Kingdoms (third to fifth centuries B.C.). That is to say, the *Tso Chuan* and the *Kuo-yü* formed originally one book, so much so that even today the two have maximum significance only when they are regarded as one work. The "History of the Former Han Dynasty" makes it indisputably clear that it was Liu Hsin (first century B.C.)—a scholar whose name is associated with many forgeries of antiquity—who first ex-

tracted the materials from the *Kuo-yü* and adapted them, with indifferent success, as a commentary to the "Spring and Autumn Annals". The material which he could not so employ he retained in the "*Kuo-yü*", which remains today a singularly uneven and emasculated work. The lack of success that followed Liu Hsin's efforts must be attributed to the difficulty he encountered in fitting a narrative history of principalities, such as the "*Kuo-yü*" originally was, to the barest of annals like the *Ch'un Ch'iu*. It naturally transpires, as Liang Ch'i-ch'ao⁷ well points out, that events are recorded in the "Commentary" which are not even mentioned in the "Annals"; that facts are omitted from the "Commentary" which are referred to in the "Annals"; and that still other facts are brought out which contradict the "Annals". While the "Commentary" should, strictly speaking, cover only the period included in the "Annals" (772-481 B.C.) it records events that are known on other evidence to have occurred prior to and subsequent to those dates.

The two most important recent studies on the *Shih Chi*, or "Historical Record" of Ssu-ma Ch'ien, are the late Wang Kuo-wei's efforts to reconstruct the chronology of Ssu-ma Ch'ien's life, and the late T'sui Shih's very rigorous analysis of the literary sources, entitled *Shih Chi T'an Yüan*. The question of chronology is still the most crucial one, for until it is known with reasonable certainty when Ssu-ma Ch'ien died, it will be impossible to determine when the record should close, and what parts of it should be attributed to other and later hands. With this question is also involved the difficult problem of the identification of place-names mentioned by the historian, with a view to determining the course of his extensive travels. Wang Kuo-wei has fixed on the year 98 B.C. as the one in which the historian endured his humiliation; and the year 88 B.C.—or the fifty-seventh of his life—as the year in which he died. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao holds that in no case could he have carried the narrative later than 101 B.C., and with even more probability concluded with the year 122, when the unicorn was alleged to have appeared to Han Wu-ti, after the analogy of Confucius in the "Spring and Autumn Annals". In any case, it is clear that Ssu-ma Ch'ien had no time before his death to complete all of the one hundred and thirty sections traditionally attributed to him, and most certainly had no hand in recording events that occurred as late as 86, 33, and even 20 B.C. T'sui Shih has isolated ten sections which he believes to be indisputably late, and lists the names of some twenty scholars who are known to have had a hand in adding to or altering parts of the text; not so much, perhaps, with

⁷ See his *Yao Chi Chieh T'i Chi Ch'i Tu Fa* published by the Tsinghua Weekly, 1925.

a view to falsification as to bring the material up to date. Ssu-ma Ch'ien's great history—the first of all China, and the model of all the succeeding dynastic histories—so usurped the field that for many years after his death no one essayed to write a new one.

This is the vast and interesting task of cultural re-orientation that confronts the Chinese scholars of our day. Addressing his fellow students in one of his most charming essays, Liang Ch'i-ch'ao writes, in a vein of sly irony, "Why should anyone care to pass an uneventful and humdrum existence, ensconced in a Western mansion on some monotonous, square avenue in New York or Chicago, when one has the opportunity, like Columbus of old, to discover another continent all by one's self and for the first time?" With this view no Westerner needs to quarrel, but it is not amiss to express the hope that the discovery of this new continent will cease to be longer regarded as the sole inheritance and preoccupation of Chinese scholars. This unknown land merits the coöperative search of students in every country of the world, each bringing to the task the knowledge which his particular cultural background affords.

ARTHUR W. HUMMEL.

ENGLISH MANORIAL FORMS ¹

A STUDY of the material available for English manorial history—of court rolls, charters, surveys, and bailiffs' accounts of the thirteenth century, printed, in manuscript, and of photographs of ancient fields taken from the air—will show on even cursory examination striking differences in the form and structure of village units in Medieval England. This paper is a plea for the vigorous study of local customs and arrangements, after the fashion set by Professor Stenton and others, and a protest against yielding to a somewhat insidious temptation to cover England too generally with the Seebohm types of manorial organization, types which were common in parts of the midlands and the south, but not necessarily elsewhere.²

Until such studies of local customs have been carried further than their present limits, generalizations regarding the causes of differences in agrarian forms are apt to be dangerous. It is clear, however, that three fields of investigation, which have already proven fruitful, are capable of yielding more abundant information. The study of the village or manor may be pursued profitably, first, in relation to the natural characteristics of the countryside in which it is found; secondly, in relation to the racial elements once strong in the neighborhood, and, thirdly, in relation to the character of the lordship established over it.

Of the influence of the natural characteristics of the countryside, the villages described in *Boldon Book*, at the close of the twelfth century, are good examples. Mr. Lapsley, their able commentator, finds five types to which such villages belonged: the pastoral village, with tenants performing week work and paying cornage, the agricultural village, where the community as a whole performed services but paid no cornage, the forest village where special forest service was performed at the *magna casa* or great hunting lodge of the bishop, and the nascent borough.³ The fifth class is of less interest in this connection. Other examples are the villages of the fen country, with their many plots of arable fields divided by dikes constructed to keep out the salt and sweet water, whose maintenance was a heavy customary burden;⁴ and the woodland villages of Essex with

¹ Read before the meeting of the American Historical Association at Indianapolis, December 28, 1928.

² See H. L. Gray, *English Field Systems*, especially the map and appendix II.

³ Victoria County History, *Durham*, I. 269 *et seq.*

⁴ N. Neilson, *Terrier of Fleet* (Brit. Acad. Records IV.), p. lix *et seq.*

their many estover customs.⁵ The age of the village must in large measure depend upon the character of the countryside, as is obvious—"anciently arable" being found more often in country susceptible of easy cultivation—but it is important to remember that waste regions often had some peculiar "use" or "custom" of their own, existing from time beyond the memory of man, which necessarily conditioned the development of settlements within their limits, and thus lent to them a flavor of great antiquity. Good examples of "use" or "custom" of this kind, which will be spoken of again, may be found in the weald and marsh land of Kent, in the forest of Coup-land, and in the Fenland.

The importance of racial influence in determining village forms and methods of agriculture in particular regions is difficult to estimate, and the discussion of it apt to become somewhat theoretical; yet, however difficult it may be to follow Meitzen and assign particular forms of settlement to particular races, some importance must surely be allowed to such influences, at least as a contributory cause of difference. Of value here are photographs taken from the air which disclose ancient field forms, square fields and strips, which are no longer decipherable from the ground level.⁶ The possibility, on the other hand, of a natural development from one agricultural form to another, inherent in processes of husbandry, and underlying and independent of all superficial racial conquest or change, has been suggested by a high authority,⁷ and may well have been operative. Such natural development would not, however, necessarily exclude completely the coincident action of other forces.

An important variation from the usual manorial form, although perhaps it may be considered social rather than agrarian in its main features, is the custom that distinguished Kent from other counties. The question arises as to whether the Kentish peculiarities were due to original differences in settlement, geographical or racial, as described above, or, as seems to me more likely⁸ in view of the wide distribution of particular features of that custom outside of Kent in regions that can be reduced to no common geographic or racial unity, to the fact that Kent, lying in the pathway to the Continent, advanced quickly, and attained an early self-consciousness and entity that

⁵ W. R. Fisher, *Forest of Essex*; J. H. Round, "Forest of Essex", *Journ. British Archaeol. Assoc.*, n. s., III. 36.

⁶ O. G. S. Crawford, *Air Survey and Archaeology*; E. C. Curwen, *Air-Photography and Economic History*. Curwen follows in part, in interpretation, Seebohm, *Customary Acres*.

⁷ G. J. Turner, introduction to the *Feet of Fines of Huntingdonshire*, p. cxxii.

⁸ "Custom and the Common Law in Kent", *Harvard Law Review*, XXXVIII. 482 *et seq.*

enabled her to withstand the equalizing and standardizing influence of the Norman conquerors, and to preserve to a late date characteristics once prevalent elsewhere. Is there perhaps some basis of truth in the legend of Swanscombe Wood and the recognition of Kentish custom forced by the men of Kent from an astute conqueror?⁹ It will be recalled that Cornwall, Yorkshire, and Gloucestershire also had once their custom,¹⁰ but being less favorably placed apparently succumbed to Norman influences and lost their peculiarities quickly.

The third possible cause of variation in village organization, the character of the lordship, is a matter of some interest, in need of more definite information than we at present have. Was there an appreciable difference in the position of peasants on lands belonging to the church and on lay land, and, if so, on which side did advantage to the peasant lie? On one hand is to be considered the constant pressure of a lordship that never dies and is always on the spot, a point emphasized by Maitland;¹¹ on the other, is to be considered the ameliorating influence of the humanitarian ideas of the church, a point raised by Mr. Coulton,¹² who yet questions the existence of any very marked benefit derived therefrom, and even asks if the greater freedom of the Danelaw can be explained in part by the destruction of churches there, accomplished by the Danish invaders.¹³ The study of numerous surveys of lay lordships, especially of those contained in the inquests *post mortem*, should go far towards answering this question, and towards restoring a balance at present inclining too far in the direction of the use of ecclesiastical material.

Whatever their origin, the variations in village forms and manorial organization, which are the main theme of this paper, may be conveniently considered from the following points of view: first, the general organization of the manor and its relation to the village; secondly, the classes of society within the manor; thirdly, the teneemental units, that is to say, the normal holdings of different classes within the manor; fourthly, assarts and improvements; fifthly, rents and services; sixthly, the demesne; seventhly, judicial arrangements.

Such a division may be convenient for purposes of discussion, but it is clear that these elements of agrarian life were interdependent, and that the consideration of any one of them can not be bounded by

⁹ Lambard's *Perambulation of Kent*, ed. 1826, p. 19 *et seq.*: Brit. Mus., Harl. MSS. 692, fol. 98.

¹⁰ *Statutes of the Realm*, I. 226; *Year Book*, 30-31 Edward I., pp. 165, 545; cf. p. 67; 33-35 Edward I., pp. 239, 457; Bolland, *Year Book Studies*, p. 16.

¹¹ *Domesday Book and Beyond*, p. 320.

¹² *Mediaeval Village*, chap. XII., especially p. 142.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 170.

hard and fast lines. It is also evident that the adequate discussion of any one of them would require a volume. The remarks that follow are desultory reflections on special points that are in need of elucidation, or that are suggestive of matters of particular interest.

Of attempts to define the manor the safest is Professor Stenton's, "it is impossible" to define the manor,¹⁴ or Round's, "it is not a technical term".¹⁵ It is rather a general term for a substantial estate of one lord. The manor was "primarily a rural mansion with appurtenant rights over its lord's tenants".¹⁶ If it had any essential feature besides lordship, it was perhaps the *aula* or hall for the holding of the *halmote*. The *villa*, the geographical village, and the *villata*, the people living therein, usually imply some inhabited nucleus, although the *villa* may appear as the equivalent of the tithing, or of the *borgha*, which in less settled regions of Kent replaced the tithing.¹⁷ That the *villa* was a definite geographical entity with boundaries is made clear in perambulations for the partition of intervillar waste,¹⁸ and in pleas in court, especially in the common cases of procedural outlawry where the accused pleads that the writ describes him as *commorans et conversans* in a wrong vill, or in one that does not exist.¹⁹

Specific information from different parts of England of the relationship of vills and manors, whether they were coterminous, or one inclusive of several of the other, and the relation of both to parish boundaries, would have value. In general the manors that go back in origin to royal vills granted to the church or retained by the king, and that sometimes themselves served as the centres of administrative districts, like the chief vills of the Kentish lests, or the many vills there and elsewhere whose names correspond with those of the hundred in which they lay, were most often of one lordship and coterminous with the vill. Also it is clear that such coincident vills and manors were more common in the well-manorialized midland and southern region than in the Danelaw, East Anglia, or the north and far west, where, on account of conquest and scattered settlements, homogeneity was difficult to attain. The effect of the Norman

¹⁴ V. C. H. *Derbyshire*, I. 310, with reference to Maitland's more technical definition, and see also *Hampshire*, I. 442.

¹⁵ V. C. H. *Hertfordshire*, I. 296 *et seq.*; compare D. C. Douglas, *Mediaeval East Anglia*, p. 56.

¹⁶ Turner, *Feet of Fines*, p. xlv; compare V. C. H. *Hampshire*, I. 442.

¹⁷ *Rot. Hund.*, I. 215, 217; *Feet of Fines*, p. lxxvii; Neilson, *Cartulary of Bilsington* (Brit. Acad. Rec. VII.), p. 22.

¹⁸ Neilson, *Terrier of Fleet*, p. xviii.

¹⁹ *Abbreviatio Placitorum*, p. 265; *Y. B.*, 12-13 Edward III., p. 17; 18-19 Edward III., pp. 75, 523; P. R. O. De Banco Rolls, no. 836, m. 150.

tendency towards standardization was probably to create or restore coincidence wherever possible.

Recent important studies have done much to make clear the character of the agrarian units in the Danelaw and East Anglia.²⁰ In East Anglia the village was large and nucleated, to use Maitland's happy term, but its strip-holding and rotation of crops were worked by units of tenements, not by the three-field system. Thus in Fleet in Lincolnshire there were thirty-nine *inlikes* or tenement units, in which the strips of the *werklands* lay. A *werkland* lay often in ten or twelve *inlikes*, and some rotation of cultivation amongst the *inlikes* must have been customary. In the Danelaw occurred the discrete manors with satellites of *sokeland* and berewicks. There are many other regions of hamlets which would repay more study than has been given them. Sometimes unusual little jurisdictional groups appear, like the salt boilers on the sea in the village of Fleet, called the *Metehough* or *villa bulliatorum*. Salt boiling was an important activity in that region, and *haga et area* were attached to each *werkland* and *moleland*.²¹ Moreover, the coalescing of small manors to form larger units goes on, as well as the "fission" of villas and the formation of new manors. The assimilation of these new manors to some well-known type, as in Kent, for example, to Aldington, and the extension to them of tenure in socage or gavelkind "as of such and such a manor", are important, and are of especial interest in view of the wording of some colonial charters.²² Is the frequent early occurrence of the phrase in Kent due to the considerable colonization in weald and marsh in progress in that county?

Can we then trace the relative age of vill and manor, or, rather, can we sometimes find traces of a time before lordship had developed, when the village group was the vital unit? It is held that the manor was somewhat late and artificial in East Anglia, the Danelaw, and the north. It is the *villata* there that attests charters, makes by-laws, serves as a unit for the geld, goes to the tourn, enters into agreements with the lord.²³ In his recent volume on Ramsey court rolls Professor Ault shows a village assembly in Walsoken, Norfolk, which is not manorial.²⁴ But most interesting of all perhaps is the fact that it

²⁰ F. M. Stenton, *Types of Manorial Structure in the Danelaw* (Oxford Studies, II.); *Documents Illustrative of the Social and Economic History of the Danelaw* (Brit. Acad. Rec. V.); D. C. Douglas, *Mediaeval East Anglia* (Oxford Studies, IX.).

²¹ *Terrier of Fleet*, p. lxi et seq.; *Rot. Hund.*, I. 292.

²² *Cartulary of Bilsington*, p. 23.

²³ Stenton, *Documents*, p. lxii et seq.; Douglas, *op. cit.*, p. 161 et seq., p. 210; *Rot. Hund.*, II. 198; *Cartulary of Bilsington*, p. 18 et seq.

²⁴ W. O. Ault, *Court Rolls of Ramsey Abbey*, p. xlvii.

is the *villata* that is endowed with ancient rights of common in the intervillar waste, and makes regulations for the use of that waste.²⁵

Concerning the second suggested topic, the classes of society in the thirteenth-century manor, much investigation has been carried on, and we know a great deal about the economic and legal characteristics of different groups. The difficult sokemen have been in part explained, as tenants representing an earlier organization than the manorial, slowly being assimilated within the manor to the position of ordinary villeins.²⁶ The jurisdictional aspects of their position have not yet perhaps been made perfectly clear, and the characteristics of those living on ancient demesne certainly need further elucidation. Of the unusual classification of peasantry in Kent, and the Year Book dictum regarding villeinage there, the writer has suggested an explanation elsewhere.²⁷ A question which is of a good deal of interest and deserving of study is the origin of the class of molmen. They occur fairly generally; for example, on the manors of Glastonbury, Ely, Durham, Burton; in East Anglia, in Lincolnshire, and as *smalmolmen* in Middlesex. The rent *mala*, from which they take their name, is common also in Kent.²⁸ A number of passages seem to explain that they are a class of unfree tenants who have at an early time commuted the bulk of their rents and services for a money rent. *Mala* is rent "paid by our ancestors for all unjust dues and exactions", as the *Black Book* of St. Austin puts it,²⁹ the result of a definite agreement with their lord. A very interesting indenture, mentioned by Mr. Douglas, records a definite contract between certain molmen and their lord regarding works.³⁰ Possibly the molmen omitted the usual stage of labor service intermediate between *gafol*, or tribute paying, and complete commutation. Are then the *censuarii* and *firmarii* members of the same class? Are ancient sokemen included in its number? The molmen of Fleet certainly resemble the sokemen of the Spalding Cartulary, living in the vicinity. What were the early conditions that led to such commutation?

²⁵ See especially *Terrier of Fleet*, introduction and map, showing circles of intercommoning villages in Fenland.

²⁶ Douglas and Stenton, *op. cit.*; Corbett (*Cambridge Medieval History*, III. 354) sought to identify them with the liesings of the Danelaw, but their appearance in Kent would probably raise a difficulty in this identification. See V. C. H. *Herefordshire*, I. 265 *et seq.* for Round's discussion of their distribution.

²⁷ "Custom and the Common Law in Kent," *loc. cit.*

²⁸ *Michael de Ambresbury Rentalia*, pp. 7, 12, 126; Brit. Mus. Cott. MSS., Claud. C. xi, *pass.*; *Rot. Hund.*, II. 424, 773; *Cal. Inq. p. Mortem*, Henry III., no. 813; V. C. H. *Durham*, I. 280; II. 181 *et seq.*; *Terrier of Fleet*, p. lxxviii, and *Customary Rents* (Oxford Studies, II.), s.v. molmen.

²⁹ G. J. Turner, *Black Book of St. Augustine* (Brit. Acad. Records, II.), I. 59.

³⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 85.

Other matters regarding the tenants on the manor would certainly become clearer if studies of local material were made. We should know more of the position of cottars, of those cottars who held arable and were of the old enfeoffment, and also of those who were newly settled on waste and demesne, on an old assize, or a new assize;³¹ of those tenants who worked for other tenants, even perhaps for villeins;³² of the men "whose number increased and decreased", who came at certain seasons of the year; of the *undersettes*, *anilepymen*; *selfods*; *pocarii*; *latini*; *kenewoldings*; *gresmen*; *enches*—of all of these and many others.³³

Of tenemental arrangements three main systems may be traced; that of hides and virgates, that of carucates and bovates, that of sulungs and *juga*. Other systems seem to be represented by the *stangs*, left over, we are told, from the days of paring and burning;³⁴ the *dales* or *doles* of marshland,³⁵ the *wistae* of Sussex,³⁶ the *daiwerks* of Kent and Essex,³⁷ the *manlots* of East Anglia³⁸ which correspond with the bovates. There must also be added the very large number of tenements taken late from the waste or the demesne, and measured in acres.³⁹ Recent research seems to have established a good deal that is interesting with regard to tenements. Of the three chief systems, that of the hide and virgate is considered the oldest, and can perhaps be traced below the other later impositions. It held, speaking generally, in the great block of Saxon counties, or, more specially, as Mr. Turner suggests, in the region of the three-field system of agriculture.⁴⁰

The system of bovates and carucates is found in the Danelaw, but also in Cumberland and the lowlands of Scotland where the Danes did not go. The sulungs and *juga* were confined to Kent. Modern opinion seems to hold that the bovine and the virgate, the smaller

³¹ *Rot. Hund.*, II. 674, 870, *et pass.*; *Domesday of St. Paul's*, *pass.*; *Reg. Prior. B.*; *Marie Wigorn*, p. 47a, *et pass.*

³² *Rot. Hund.*, II. 402, 748, *et passim* in Beds and Bucks.

³³ *Mich. Ambres. Rent.*, p. 108; *Cal. I. p. M.* Edward I., vol. II., nos. 371, 457, 633; P. R. O. Vacancy Roll, 1141/1; *Bilsington Cartulary*, pp. 56, 182; *Bishop Hatfield's Survey*, pp. 168, 174, 180, 232; *Brit. Mus. Cott. MSS.*, Tiber. B. ii, ff. 117, 167, 238; *Claud. C.* xi, ff. 60, 89, 93, 94, 290, 297; *Harl. MSS.* 3977, ff. 37, 38; *Add. MSS.* 1005, f. 69; *Mon. Anglic.*, III. 315; *Customary Rents*, p. 10.

³⁴ G. J. Turner, *Feet of Fines*, p. cxix; *Fleet Terrier*, pp. lv, 159 *et seq.*

³⁵ *Bilsington Cartulary*, pp. 56, 61, 99, 128, 159 *et seq.*; see Stenton, *Documents*, p. xlv.

³⁶ *Battle Abbey Custumal*, p. 29.

³⁷ *Bilsington Cartulary*, pp. 26, 214, 217.

³⁸ Douglas, *op. cit.*, pp. 30, 50–58, 213; *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XLIII. 9.

³⁹ *Y. B.*, 13–14 Edward III., p. 173, where a writ abates because fenland is claimed in bovates.

⁴⁰ *Feet of Fines*, pp. cxxii–cxxiii.

divisions, were older than the hide and carucate, and that the larger allotment of hide and carucate made to the family, with definite obligations of tribute and service affixed, was not a measure of economic necessity.⁴¹ The relation of these units to the system of assessment is a difficult problem in which there is still room for much study. Was there something in England resembling the tunc pound? Mr. Douglas's work on the East Anglian bovate and the *manlot*, on the leet and the twelve carucate hundred, is of much importance in this connection. What place had the lests of Kent and the leets of Sussex, the ridings or trithings of the north, in an original scheme or schemes? And are not the hundreds of Kent, for example, of later development than the lests? What part exactly has partibility of tenement played in the splitting up of compact tenements, and is such disintegration always more rapid on the free tenement, deprived of what Mr. Douglas calls the "cohesive force of the lord's will"?⁴²

Of all aspects of manorial life common assart and the use of the waste seem to the writer best to repay study devoted to them. The two main uses of the waste were for pasture and colonization. The study of pasture rights will some time lead to the great work on early commons which is needed. There is much to be learned with regard to common within the manor, but more with regard to common in the intervillar waste, or, as it is later called, common *pur cause de vicinage*. The grouping of neighboring vills according to the kind of pasture rights enjoyed—those, namely, with very ancient rights for all tenants of ancient arable land to turn out all the cattle levant and couchant within their villages during all the year, and those others which paid under differing conditions sums of money for specific numbers of cattle during restricted seasons—seems to have been the custom in all parts of England.⁴³ The attempt of the royal administration when such districts were afforested to cut down ancient rights of common pasture and the corresponding common use of woodland was, I believe, a chief cause of the hatred of royal forests, and of the constant agitation against afforestation.⁴⁴ It would too be of interest to know whether the systems of dennis in Kent and the weald of southern England had parallels elsewhere. The dennis was an outlying part of the village, situated in the woodland, and used for swine pasture. It might lie at a distance of half a county from its parent vill, and it had its own different and peculiar rents and services. The question of the right of the tenants of the dennis to cut the timber trees

⁴¹ *Feet of Fines*, p. lxi.

⁴² *Mediaeval East Anglia*, p. 67.

⁴³ See especially *Terrier of Fleet*, introduction and references to similar customs elsewhere.

⁴⁴ *Bilsington Cartulary*, introduction, pt. I., especially p. 33 *et seq.*

without the assent of the lord, or *vice versa*, the lord's right to cut at his own will, became a subject of litigation in the king's courts, and furnishes admirable evidence of the possibility of independent action on the part of groups of tenants.⁴⁵

The use of the waste for assart and colonization has received even less attention than its use for common pasture and will prove a most interesting field of work. Where a large territory lay open to settlement there was room for a definite policy. In the archbishops' innings in Walland marsh in Kent, south of Rhee Wall, for example, protection against the sea had to be secured by regulations regarding walls and sewers, and such regulation became the basis of later royal ordinances: ⁴⁶ the tenure of gavelkind was extended to land so inned, the plots show a certain uniformity in size, and the tenant who took one had to put in gage and pledge for its proper maintenance all his tenements and chattels elsewhere, and, unless he had a house in the village to which it was appurtenant, had also to build on his inning. He took a corporal oath that he would fulfil the conditions of his enfeoffment.

Rents and services still offer an admirable field for research, notwithstanding the fact that much study has already been given them. Labor services of the tenants for the lord are usually divided into week work and boon work, but this division is not necessarily exhaustive. All labor that was not boon work was not necessarily week work; much was performed by the task, *ad tascham*,⁴⁷ a certain number of days of work, "daywerks", being required in a particular season, or a total of "works" required in a whole year, or a total assignment made of land to be ploughed or reaped. Sometimes these works are designated as "great or small works".⁴⁸ In Kent, and other regions where partibility of inheritance or some other cause had split up the land into small tenements, week work would have been difficult to manage, and a more flexible arrangement was clearly almost a necessity. But even where the two- and three-field system prevailed and land was held in hides and virgates, week work was by no means universal. Thus a study of Oxfordshire as it appears in the Hundred Rolls in the survey of the seventh year of Edward I.⁴⁹ shows that week work was of far from uniform occurrence or importance, and also that it was the first service commuted, a fact natural enough in view of its cumbersome nature. Seasonal works,

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 16 *et seq.*

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, introduction, pt. II.

⁴⁷ For the term see *Ramsey Cartulary*, I. 288, 296, 336, 337.

⁴⁸ C. Edward I., Files 77/3; 128, 457; *Rot. Hund.*, II. 457, 464.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, II. 688 *et seq.*

on the other hand, are frequent, and are rendered to the lord until a comparatively late date.

The relation of week work, then, to *gafol* or original tribute on one hand, and to commutation on the other, becomes important. Was it a necessary stage through which all manorialized villein land passed, or was it in some cases non-existent, and in its place may we find a heavy *mol*, *mala*, *redditus*, dating from an early time and commuting early obligations other than the *gafol* or food rent, which had not yet crystallized into week work? We should then find villeins divided according to their labor services into three classes: first, a class, very numerous on church lands, who performed both week work and boon works, and paid customary rents which were in some cases commutations of occasional services; secondly, a class less common, perhaps, but still very numerous and unmistakably of villein status, who paid a *mala* or *redditus*, a fixed and heavy rent, for their tenement, as well as boon works and perhaps occasional daywerks, but no week work; and thirdly, a class of those who had once performed week work which had later been commuted, either permanently or in given years at the lord's will, and who still performed boon works. These classes can be conveniently studied in the surveys of 1279 in the *Hundred Rolls*, and much light is thrown on the second class by the information available regarding molmen. The possibility of early and fairly general commutation of week work as found in the third class should be noticed. That labor services in general were a better indication of villein status than anything else is probably true, but, in view of the foregoing variations, Mr. Douglas would seem to me to over-emphasize the value of week work as a test.⁵⁰ Vinogradoff's position is probably safer when he says that "agricultural service may be regarded as a symptom of villeinage"; that, for the courts, agricultural service was "a presumption of villein tenure till proof to the contrary was forth coming", but that a "hesitating jurisprudence" was fastening on, and sometimes producing simultaneously, "many discordant tests of status", merchet, reeveship, borough English, alienation of cattle, week work, food obligations.⁵¹ An interesting case is that of Wye in Kent where the test of a servile tenement was the carting service it performed.⁵² In Farnham there was no week work included in the ancient tenure.⁵³ The origin of week work and of other villein services on the lord's demesne is still obscure. Was

⁵⁰ *Op. cit.*, ch. III.

⁵¹ *Collected Papers*, I. 112 *et seq.*

⁵² *Batt. Abb. Cust.*, p. 122, and compare V. C. H. *Hertfordshire*, I. 269 *et seq.*: P. R. O. Misc. Books, Augm. Office, vol. 57, fol. 30b.

⁵³ *Cal. I. p. M.*, Henry III., no. 502.

it imported by the church from the Continent, as sometimes stated,⁵⁴ or may it have been the result of the substitution of *gafol* works for some of the *gafol* rent in kind? Thus it might even have become attached to definite bits of land, which would come to be considered the lord's special strips. An analogy can be drawn from the *cyricscat* *werks* of the Anglo-Saxon charters, and from the difficult *studewerks*.⁵⁵ As Mr. Stephenson remarks, many obligations of the villein became servile only as he himself became a serf.⁵⁶

According to much of the evidence, the rent in kind or *gafol* was probably of great age, antedating manorial arrangements. The very long survival of original food rents on the manors of Bury St. Edmunds has recently been shown by Mr. Douglas.⁵⁷ Condition rents as indications of villein status were probably of later development, and served as by no means certain tests; the heriot, for example, of which Mr. Coulton says much that is interesting, was certainly in origin no servile rent.⁵⁸ Mr. Stephenson emphasizes the importance of tallage at the lord's will, but I question somewhat his identification of *stuch* or *stud* as a local western variation for tallage.⁵⁹ It occurs in the form of *studewerks* in the Ely manors,⁶⁰ and one wonders whether it can be connected with the mysterious *stockikinde* of Kent, which occurs in juxtaposition with *gavolkinde* in Bayham charters.⁶¹ In connection with another group of rents attention should be called to Miss Cam's recent article on the importance of great private lords as vicegerents of government in the maintenance of the principles of the collections of public fines and dues.⁶² On certain particular rents further light is needed; for example, on the very curious payment of *fulstingpound*, which seems to suggest the early appearance of a somewhat advanced principle of insurance.⁶³ A pound is paid every year by the *villata*, or an annual twelve-penny rent by the individual, in order that a villein, if amerced for any offense not involving the shedding of blood, may pay no more than twelve pence. The custom occurs in rural districts and can not well

⁵⁴ Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond*, pp. 320-321.

⁵⁵ *Customary Rents*, pp. 9, 70; Cott. MSS., Claud. C. xi, fol. 55.

⁵⁶ *Mélanges Pirenne*, p. 3.

⁵⁷ *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XLIII. 378.

⁵⁸ *Mediaeval Village*, pp. 75-76, 119, 128, 156, 172; *Customary Rents*, s.v. heriot.

⁵⁹ *Mélanges Pirenne*, p. 3.

⁶⁰ Cott. MSS., Claud. C. xi, fol. 55.

⁶¹ *Bilsington Cartulary*, quoting from Otho A. ii. Note transcripts, Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 6037, Stowe MSS. 924, fol. 48; Sloane MSS. 4934.

⁶² *The King's Government as Administered by the Greater Abbots*, Cambridge-shire Antiquarian Society, Comm., vol. XXIX.

⁶³ *Customary Rents*, pp. 52, 91, 107, 110, 119, 179, 186.

therefore be referred solely, as Miss Bateson refers it, to the law of Breteuil. The customals of towns must often exhibit traces of customs of the adjacent countryside, and I think have not been examined from this very interesting point of view. Another interesting rent is that called *foxalpeni* in Kent, which carries an extremely heavy penalty for arrears.⁶⁴

A study of local material is necessary to show to what extent the demesne in any manor lay in compact blocks or in strips in the open fields. There were still villages, some belonging to Ely, some in the Danelaw and elsewhere, where there was no demesne:⁶⁵ on the other hand sometimes important tenants of the lord of the manor had demesnes of their own within the village.⁶⁶ Other groups of villages had a common demesne.⁶⁷ The renting of plots of demesne was probably more common at an early date than is generally supposed; the *Domesday of St. Paul's*, for example, gives a good deal of evidence regarding tenements in new and old assart. On what terms were such demesne tenements held—always for a money rent only, or were some of the ancient services and dues of the manor ever imposed? Again, at what time and in what manner did the lord's claim to the waste of the manor, as contrasted with his land held anciently in demesne, develop? Did the Statute of Merton confirm or modify the common law practices with regard to the use of the waste? Was not *inland*—that is to say land *sine geldo regis*⁶⁸ and hence the antithesis of *warland* which was subject to royal dues—often kept apart and distinct from the newer “de dominio” holdings, which were subject to public burdens? Again, what was the position of castles with regard to their own demesne and that of their members?⁶⁹

Of the jurisdictional side of manorial life one aspect of great importance has received as yet comparatively little attention, namely, the procedure in manorial courts, and its likeness to procedure in the

⁶⁴ *Customary Rents*, p. 108, and Misc. Books, Augm. Office, vol. 57, fol. 99: et sciendum est quod nisi tenentes predicti omnes totum redditum suum de predictis cum predicto obolo vocato voxalpeny plene persolverint diebus terminorum statutis sunt grauiter amerciandi secundum consuetudinem patrie eo quod tunc dicuntur gavellate et unus solus de voxalpeny aretro fuerit die termini statuti non solutus illi de quibus defuit sunt amerciandi ad c solidos. For *gavellate* land see “Custom and Common Law in Kent”, *loc. cit.*

⁶⁵ Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond*, pp. 119, 320; D. B., I. 1–13, *pass.*; Vinogradoff, *English Society in the Eleventh Century*, p. 353 *et seq.*; *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XIX. 297; Cott. MSS., Claud. C. xi, *pass.*

⁶⁶ *Rot. Hund.*, II. 514, 656, 658.

⁶⁷ V. C. H. *Durham*, II. 267, 294.

⁶⁸ *Burton Cartulary*, p. 23.

⁶⁹ P. R. O., C. Edward I., Files 17/5, 56/3, 85/4, 94/3; Min. Acc. 824/19.

common law courts. The researches of Professor Ault, Miss Levett, and others will throw light on manorial practice and on the development of the common law. Was the common law procedure taken over bodily? Did manorial lords imitate royal procedure with regard to a jury of presentment?⁷⁰ To what extent did local custom, for example the furnishing of "witnessmen",⁷¹ thrust itself through the more conventional procedure, and become part of the "custom of the manor", a subject which has been strangely neglected, considering its interest and importance. Did great private lords hold inquests *post mortem*?⁷²

Another question connected with jurisdiction already has been suggested in speaking of the antiquity of village life under the crust of manorialism. What was the nature of the first meetings of the villagers? Were they for purely economic matters, or did some jurisdiction also spring from the soil? If the East Anglian village had sufficient self-consciousness to attest charters, it must, Mr. Douglas believes, have been able to have a court for economic arrangements.⁷³

In conclusion, a specific example may be given, taken from material still unprinted, of one of the many variations from the closely organized manorial groups of parts of England. Cumberland in the thirteenth century was divided into lordships derived from the great lordships of Norman times, four of which had castles as centres of their administration. One of these lordships, the honour of Cockermouth, with the castle of Cockermouth as its centre, passed in the forty-fourth year of Henry III., on the death of William de Fortibus, earl of Albemarle, to his widow Isabella, Lady of the Isle, as her dower. Isabella was a woman of strong character, who took the king's side in the Barons' War, was pursued by Simon de Montfort, according to her own story,⁷⁴ and quarrelled with her mother, Amicia, countess of Devon, in "a manner displeasing to God and odious to all".⁷⁵ Of the administration of her fief in Cumberland we have unusually full records.⁷⁶ The honour consisted of the castle and town of Cockermouth, several neighboring manors, and scattered tenements

⁷⁰ Douglas, *op. cit.*, p. 166 *et seq.*

⁷¹ *Cal. I. p. M. Edward I.*, vol. III., nos. 159, 180, 194, 220, 406, 607. Compare below.

⁷² Ault, *Ramsey Court Rolls*, p. xxviii.

⁷³ *Op. cit.*, p. 166; V. C. H. *Durham*, II. 187.

⁷⁴ *Abbreviatio Placitorum*, p. 172.

⁷⁵ *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1266-1272, p. 375; compare pp. 260, 275, 281, 296.

⁷⁶ *Min. Acc.* 824/6-15, 17, 18, 21-26; 1121/11; P. R. O., *Rent. and Surv.*, Gen. Series, no. 730; *Cal. I. p. M.*, Henry III., nos. 471, 872; compare P. R. O., C. Edward I., File 85/4, and *Placita quo Warranto*, pp. 112-113.

in the great waste and mountainous districts of Cumberland, in Derwentfelles, Allerdale, Coupland, and Inglewood Forest. The duties of the chief officer, the constable, to whom all lesser officers accounted, are clearly described, the provenance and collection of the revenue, its delivery to the countess at places very far distant from its source, her need for it on account of her fondness for litigation,⁷⁷ and the necessity for large payments to secure justice. There is included in the documents a customal of Cockermouth, not noticed in Miss Bateson's or Ballard's list. For the present purpose, however, the chief interest of the documents is the clearness with which they describe agrarian conditions within the various holdings of the fee. The tenements were in bovates, rated often at seven acres, the tenants were *firmarii* and villeins. Both classes paid light labor services, and the villeins paid also hens and eggs. There was no week work, but a considerable number of boons. A point of much interest is the large amount of hired labor, and the frequent appearance of selfods, extra laborers. Much of the demesne was already stocked by the lord, an ox to a bovat, and rented in farms to the bond tenants. Outside these home manors, the Cockermouth honour included wide stretches of territory suitable for hunting and grazing, and for little else, with few and scattered tenants—two in Falls, eleven in Buttermere, as many as eighteen in Goderescale, three in Skalegayl, and small numbers elsewhere, whose rents, amounting to over six pounds, were probably derived from vaccaries and sheep pastures, cornage, where it occurred, pannage, and the herbage of *gresmen*.⁷⁸ In the tenements lying in Coupland there are traces of the very ancient "use of Coupland" which included the duty of testifying to misdeeds in the forest, the furnishing of puture to *landsergents*, the duty of *awaita maris* or sea wake.⁷⁹ Coupland was long called a county, even after its incorporation with Carlisle in 1157, and great antiquity may well be claimed for the "use of Coupland"; the "bode and witnessman" service, for example, is mentioned in a writ of Gospatric dating from 1067–1072 (?), and a case of 1204 describes the services in detail, carrying them back to the Conquest, and defines *land servientes* as *custodes pacis*.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ For example see P. R. O., Min. Acc. 824/7, 824/16; *Abbrev. Placitorum*, pp. 169, 172, 313; Y. B. (Selden Society), XI. 134; Bain, *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, II. 36, 37; *Testa de Nevill*, p. 379.

⁷⁸ P. R. O., Rent. and Surv., Gen. Series, no. 730: *Isti iiii gresmen portabunt herbam de prato ad opus domini cum ibi moram fecerit et facient focum coram domino et habebunt cibum*. Other information is given regarding them. Compare Burn and Nicolson, *Hist. of Westmoreland*, II. 72.

⁷⁹ *Terrier of Fleet*, pp. 108–109.

⁸⁰ V. C. H. *Cumberland*, I. 300, 321 *et seq.*, 329; II. 231 *et seq.*, 498; *Abbrev. Placitorum* (Trin. 5 John), p. 42: *Dicit etiam quod debet habere iiii*

Equally far from the conventional manorial type is the village or manor of Kent, with its gavelkind tenure, its unique tenements, its absence of week work, its denns or swine pastures in the weald, and its subordination to the custom of Kent, some phases of which were very old, others of which had accumulated in later times. Another district of peculiar customs was the part of Sussex that lay in the rape of Pevensey where borough-English prevailed, and a division of tenants appears in some villages of those *extra* and *infra boscagium*.⁸¹ Another curious arrangement of lands is described in the inquest *post mortem* of Kirkton in Lincolnshire.⁸² The examples of variation might however be multiplied *ad infinitum*, and all would repay extended study.

The further one goes beneath the surface of manorial life, the deeper one finds the layer of ancient customs, the more striking the variation from the normal manor imposed by the manorial lordship. As the law of the Norman military fief becomes the common law of England, obliterating in most places the ancient rules of inheritance, of wardship, of dower, so the manorial lordship of the Normans seeks to bring into uniformity ancient systems of landholding and cultivation of the fields. The "custom of the manor", of which such variations are the vital part, has a strong hold on life, and may maintain itself against complete annihilation and become a clue in the hands of students of history to the conditions of a village life long past. "Recent law may go one way while ancient custom goes another." "It is curious", to adapt the words of M. Petit Dutailis, "how little contradiction embarrassed the men of the middle ages"; and of great weight is Vinogradoff's *dictum*: "English courts . . . had to reckon with deeply rooted customs of feudal and pre-feudal origin, and this fundamental fact ought to be made the starting-point of inquiries as to the origins of English . . . Law."⁸³

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landseruientes custodes scilicet pacis patrie duos scilicet ex unaparte aque de Egene et duos ex alia parte illius aque de Egene et illos duos qui erunt ex illa parte aque ubi ipse manet debet ipse hospitari et pascere et invenire eis sectam ad testandum malefacta pacis. . . . Et Adam venit et cognoscit ei seruicia et consuetudines que terra sua debet et debuit a conquestu Anglie.

⁸¹ Lambeth MSS., 1212, ff. 422, 423, 225, 85. Add. MSS., 5701, ff. 167, 170.

⁸² *Cal. I. p. M.*, Edward I., vol. II., no. 604, p. 470.

⁸³ *Collected Papers*, II. 403.

THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE JACOBIN CLUBS¹

I

IN a book which has sold in France like a novel M. Pierre Gaxotte has recently sought to show his countrymen the futility, for France at least, of further experiments in communism. For, according to his ingenious sketch of the first French revolution, France underwent in 1793-1794 a dictatorship of the proletariat and found it most unprofitable. The parallel between the French Revolution and the Russian is certainly tempting. We are, moreover, living in an age when science has everywhere made astonishing progress by discovering the real uniformities behind apparent diversities. History is or ought to be a science, and therefore useful. To what better use could it be put than to prove that all revolutions are risings of the incompetent against the competent, and therefore quite unnecessary, since, no matter how great the shaking up, the competent will eventually rise again to the top? Put in this crude way, the conclusion is certainly unjust, if not to M. Gaxotte, at least to many serious social historians who are laboring at the problem of why men revolt. But if a science of revolutions, a sort of social dynamics, is possible, a beginning must be made, as in the physical sciences, by a process of counting, weighing, or measuring.

II

Such a process is possible with the French Revolution. There are to be found in French archives and in the work of French local historians numerous lists of the members of the *sociétés populaires*, commonly called Jacobin clubs, which flourished all over the country during the Revolution. Here, then, we have a number of revolutionists sufficient to permit statistical treatment. And there can be no doubt that these Jacobins, rank and file as well as leaders, were the men who made the Revolution. We have clearly a case of the political action of the kind of group studied by Bryce and Ostrogorski.

Granted, then, that we have here the names, at least, of several thousand revolutionists, what else can we learn of these obscure people? Do we know enough about them to weigh or measure them? Each of them, alive, was a sovereign individual, and this individuality

¹ The author wishes to thank the Social Science Research Council, from whom a fellowship has made this study possible.

is even more hopelessly destroyed now than that of a Mirabeau or a Robespierre. But there is left sufficient trace of their social and economic positions to satisfy the social scientist, who is, perhaps, a bit skeptical about the sovereignty of the individual anyway. Most of the membership lists were drawn up late in 1794 by order of the central government, now under the control of the Thermidorean moderates, and desirous of having names of Jacobins for police purposes. They include commonly Christian names, place of birth, place of residence before and after 1789, age, and profession. Once equipped with this information, it is possible to search out these men on the rolls of direct taxes at the very end of the *ancien régime*, and find out how much they were taxed. By comparing the average Jacobin tax with the average tax paid by non-Jacobins on the same roll, one can place the Jacobins pretty exactly in the common life of their community. Tax-rolls of the Revolutionary period itself have almost never survived, if, indeed, they were ever drawn up. But millions of francs worth of confiscated property was sold by the government, and lists of buyers of this property are almost everywhere available. We can easily find out how much of this property our Jacobins bought and thus learn how many had surplus funds for such investments. There is thus information to be had as to the occupation, wealth, age, birthplace, and residence of these obscure revolutionists.

Such information will not, of course, have even the relative accuracy possible in a study of contemporary demography. Its limitations come out clearly when we attempt to classify the Jacobins by profession. In the first place, the occupation of some is not given at all. Some of these were too young to have a gainful occupation, for the clubs frequently admitted sons of their members from sixteen, and even from twelve years of age. Some were *rentiers*, for that familiar French figure existed already in the eighteenth century. Some are merely omissions of careless secretaries, for these lists, after all, are not quite official. At any rate, it is safe to conclude that the category "no occupation given" does not represent a jobless and irresponsible set of poor men. It is not very risky to assume that it includes much the same sort of men as the other groups, and that it can therefore be neglected. But even where occupations are given, all is not clear. The word *négociant*, like the American "business man", implies wealth and social standing greater than that of the *marchand*, best translated by the English "shopkeeper". The difference is between the upper middle class and the lower middle class, and is worth noting; yet the two words are very loosely used, and many a listed *négociant* is merely an aspiring *marchand*. Revolu-

tionary levelling would have none of the old distinctions between *avocat*, *procureur*, *notaire*, *praticien*, and the successful barrister and the humble notary are often listed alike as *hommes de loi*. So too an *officier de santé* may be a great surgeon or a mere barber. But the most serious difficulty is with the peasants. Obviously what is most important to know about a peasant is whether he is a landowner, a tenant farmer, or a landless agricultural laborer. This it is unfortunately almost impossible to learn from these lists. *Propriétaire*, *metayer*, and *journalier* are perfectly clearly owner, tenant, and laborer; but these terms are used much less often than the ambiguous *laboureur*, *agriculteur*, and *cultivateur*, of which the first usually implies ownership, the last either landlessness or very small property, and the middle nothing at all for our purpose. Thus our classification of the peasantry into owners and non-owners will be very tentative, and best not attempted save for certain localities.

In spite of these limitations, an analysis of the occupations of the membership of Jacobin clubs, chosen widely from different parts of France, will permit certain preliminary conclusions of a general scope. The statistics which follow represent every considerable region of France, though the revolted royalist regions of the west are naturally neglected, and every type of French locality, villages, market towns, provincial capitals, industrial towns and cities, great trading cities. An alphabetical list of these cities, together with all printed and manuscript sources drawn on for these statistics, will be found at the end of this article.

The following table requires a word of explanation. The clubs were continually electing new members and expelling old ones, and therefore their membership varied considerably over the five or six years of their existence. The crucial point is the year 1793, when with the defeat of the Girondins the Revolution turned definitely to the left. The clubs are therefore listed under three groups: (1) the total membership, including those resigning or excluded during the whole career of the club; (2) membership during the years 1789-1792; (3) membership during the years 1793-1795. It was not, of course, possible to procure such lists for all clubs. The third group is fortunately the most numerous, for in these years the Revolution attained its maximum of *social*, as opposed to merely *political*, action.

This classification must, of course, ignore failure and success. Yet surely a poor lawyer considers himself as much a gentleman, as much a member of the *bourgeoisie*, as a rich one. We may safely reckon the professional men and the business men as members of the middle class, many of them, no doubt, as members of the upper middle class. As for the shopkeepers, they are middle class if not in

fact at least in aspiration. So, too, are the civil servants and the officers. As for the peasantry, it is perhaps wiser not to reckon it into any division between *bourgeoisie* and proletariat. In ten villages where some sort of line can be drawn between owners of property and non-owners⁹ the proportion is about six to four in favor of the owners, who were no doubt chiefly small proprietors. The owners, at least, can fairly be considered as essentially middle class as far as their political interests go. There remain only the artisans, the landless peasantry, and the soldiers who can perhaps be said to belong to the lower classes. Yet even here, many a man listed as a carpenter or a weaver is really a master craftsman, often more prosperous than many definitely middle-class lawyers.

TABLE I

Occupation	Group I. ² 12 clubs, 1789-1795		Group II. ³ 12 clubs, 1789-1792		Group III. ⁴ 42 clubs, 1793-1795	
	Number	Per cent.	Number	Per cent.	Number	Per cent.
Law.....	254	5	234	6	545	7
Clergy.....	185	3	103	3	136	2
Other liberal professions ⁵	340	6	286	7	556	7
Business men ⁶	375	7	381	9	662	8
Shopkeepers ⁷	630	12	410	10	1407	17
Artisans ⁸	872	16	570	14	2218	28
Peasants.....	424	8	199	5	775	10
Officers.....	248	5	96	2	115	1
Soldiers.....	231	4	126	3	101	1
Civil servants.....	484	9	186	5	540	7
No occupation given	1362	25	1446	36	1007	12
Total.....	5405	100	4037	100	8062	100

² Colmar, Grenoble, Lille, Limoges, Moulins, Nuits-St-Georges, Rodez, Thann, Toul, Tulle, Vauvert, Villemur.

³ Avallon, Colmar, Le Havre, Nuits-St-Georges, Paris, Soissons, Strasbourg, Thann, Tulle, Vauvert, Villemur, Villeneuve-sur-Yonne.

⁴ Alban, Albi, Beaulieu-sur-Dordogne, Beauvais, Beynat, Bourges, Brive, Castres, Chablis, Châlons-sur-Marne, Charost, Cosnac, Coutances, Dijon, Dreux, Épinal, Gaillefontaine, Gerberoy, Haudivillers, Lorient, Manneville-la-Goupil, Mareuil, Martres-Tolosane, Metz, Montignac, Nice, Nîmes, Orthez, Perpignan, Rabastens, Rambouillet, St. Doulchard, St-Jean-de-Maurienne, St. Omer, St. Saëns, Thonon, Toulouse, Turenne, Ventes d'Eawy, Verfeil, Vesoul, Vilquiers.

⁵ Medicine, teaching, art, literature, acting, etc.

⁶ *Négociants*, bankers, contractors, etc.

⁷ Grocers, drapers, tailors, jewellers, etc.

⁸ Masons, cobblers, and in general hand-workers, usually organized in guilds; also many workers under domestic system of industry—glove-makers, weavers, etc.

⁹ Faverney, Gaillefontaine, Manneville-la-Goupil, Mareuil, Pechbonnieu, St. Doulchard, St. Saëns, Vauvert, Villemur, Vilquiers.

This weakness our next table will remedy. But to sum up what we can learn from the professions actually given (those whose professions are not given can pretty safely be neglected), we find that over the whole course of the Revolution, 12 clubs (group I.) number 62 per cent. middle class, 28 per cent. artisans and soldiers, and 10 per cent. peasantry; 12 clubs (group II.) whose membership from 1789-1792 can be studied number 66 per cent. middle class, 26 per cent. artisans and soldiers, and 8 per cent. peasantry; finally, forty-two clubs (group III.) studied for the period 1793-1795 when the social revolution was at its height number 57 per cent. middle class, 32 per cent. artisans and soldiers, and 11 per cent. peasantry. The professional classes alone number 19 per cent., 24 per cent., and 18 per cent. respectively in the three groups.

The tax-rolls can considerably supplement this information. If the mason is really a contractor, and a rich man, he will be taxed accordingly. Yet even here, our statistics can not aspire to accuracy. First, on the side of the tax-rolls, it is well known that the direct taxes of the *ancien régime* were not apportioned strictly according to income. Yet the unfairness of the system has probably been exaggerated by nineteenth-century historians who mistook the confusion of the *ancien régime* for injustice; and certainly even though the very rich of the middle class were relatively more lightly taxed than the poor, they paid absolutely greater sums. Often the tax-rolls have not survived for the years between 1788 and 1791. Where they have survived, one is obliged to take what one finds—rolls of the *taille*, the *capitation*, or the *vingtièmes*, and sometimes, as in the once imperial city of Colmar, all three combined. The amount paid *per capita* varies, not only with the different taxes, but with the same tax in different provinces. Secondly, on the side of the lists of members there are also difficulties. Many members are not sufficiently identified to be traced further, since neither Christian names nor professions are always given. Many members had moved into the town since the tax-roll was drawn up, and can not therefore be found on it. Many were too young when the roll was made, or not heads of families or owners of property in their own right. Finally, errors of identification are easily possible, though these are in some way compensating—that is to say, as many Jacobins would normally be mistaken for non-Jacobins as non-Jacobins for Jacobins.

When all these reservations are made, it is none the less true that the following tables place the Jacobins pretty accurately according to their wealth. The upper classes and some of the *bourgeoisie* managed no doubt to shun the *taille*, and even the *capitation*, though they paid the *vingtièmes*, a tax on real property; but the real poor were

taxed lightly, or not at all. In most towns a list of the poor and incapacitated follows the tax-roll; in others the poor are listed with the rest, but their names are followed by *néant*. It is worth noticing that names of Jacobins are almost never found among the poor.

TABLE II

	Group I. ¹⁰ 8 clubs, 1789-1795	Group II. ¹¹ 26 clubs, 1793-1795
Resident members.....	4763	5670
Members paying tax.....	2138	2912
Per cent. members paying tax.....	45	51
Male population over sixteen.....	55,953	77,469
Amount paid by all male inhabitants.	952,111.00 l.	1,119,831.00 l.
Amount paid by members.....	157,768.00 l.	113,097.00 l.
Average per member.....	33.12 l.	19.94 l.
Average per male inhabitant.....	17.02 l.	14.45 l.

TABLE III

	16 clubs, ¹² 1793-1795
Club members paying tax.....	1438
Non-club members paying tax.....	12,434
Amount paid by members.....	20,803.84 l.
Amount paid by non-members.....	134,171.90 l.
Average tax of members.....	14.47 l.
Average tax of non-members.....	10.79 l.

These two tables prove the same thing in different ways. Table II. compares per capita assessment for the *whole* Jacobin club with the *whole* male population of the town. The total sum assessed on all Jacobins traceable on the rolls is divided by the total number of resident Jacobins, including those who do not appear on the rolls. The problem of finding a similar average for the townspeople as a whole is, however, difficult. The figure in table II. under the heading "average per male inhabitant" is arrived at as follows: From various documents in the *série L* of the departmental archives, from local histories and year-books, as accurate an estimate as possible is made of the total population of the town about 1790; one-fourth of the total population is taken to represent males over an age somewhere

¹⁰ Beauvais, Bergerac, Bordeaux, Colmar, Grenoble, Libourne, Lille, Rodez.

¹¹ Albi, Beaulieu-sur-Dordogne, Beauvais, Beauvoisin, Bergerac, Bordeaux, Bourges, Charost, Colmar, Dijon, Faverney, Grenoble, Le Havre, Jussey, Lescure, Libourne, Moulins, Nomény, Noviant-aux-Prés, Rosières-aux-Salines, Sainte-Marie-aux-Mines, Sauveterre, Toul, Toulouse, Turenne, Vesoul.

¹² Alban et Ambialet, Bacqueville, Châteauneuf-sur-Cher, Cordes, Faverney, Grenoble, Pechbonnieu etc., Perpignan, Rosières-aux-Salines, Ste-Marie-aux-Mines, Sauveterre, Toul, Tulle, Ventes d'Eawy, Verfeil, Vesoul.

between eighteen and twenty (rather at the lower figure, probably, since the duration of life in eighteenth-century France was lower than at present);¹³ the total sum of the tax, less the sum listed under female names (usually from 8 per cent. to 12 per cent. of the total sum), is then divided by the figure representing the number of males over eighteen to give the average used for the town. By this method townspeople not listed on the tax-rolls will balance Jacobins not so listed. Women were excluded from the clubs by law in 1794, but they had hardly figured in them anyway. Eighteen may be considered a fairer age-limit than the customary twenty-one or twenty-five, for many boys between sixteen and twenty-one appear on the lists. By this means, the club as a whole appears as a cross-section of the town as a whole, and we avoid the criticism that the 51 per cent. of members who can not be traced on the rolls are neglected. Table III. does frankly neglect them, since they probably are much the same sort as their fellows. In this table the average paid by Jacobins on the rolls is contrasted with that paid by non-Jacobins on the same rolls. Both tables show that the Jacobins were on the average assessed a higher tax than the rest of the community. Of the 37 different towns considered in the two tables, only six showed an average higher for the non-Jacobins than for the Jacobins.¹⁴

One tax is of sufficient importance to merit the reproduction *in extenso* of the pertinent data it affords. This is the *vingtième d'industrie*, a small but very fair tax assessed on all who pursued a gainful occupation in a town. The very highest escaped it, but the average merchant, for instance, paid something. The tax was so small that the total assessed did not vary greatly, ranging from 1 livre to 12, and sometimes more. But the apprentice always paid the minimum, the master more, the merchant or entrepreneur still more. Unfortunately rolls of this tax giving names are rare, for most guilds subscribed for their share, and the subsequent apportionment has left no trace. But the following table covers eight typical provincial towns.

¹³ This figure can of course be but approximate. For evidence that on actuarial grounds the method here used is not unsound, see such eighteenth-century tables of mortality as Dr. Price's Northampton Table (1735-1780), the Carlisle Table (1779-1787), in Elderton and Fippard, *Construction of Mortality and Sickness Tables* (London, 1914), p. 103, and the actuarial works of Nicolas Struyck (1687-1769), edited by J.-A. Vollgraaf (Amsterdam, 1912), esp. pp. 214-215 and 231.

¹⁴ These are Beaulieu-sur-Dordogne, Beauvoisin, Jussey, Noviant-aux-Prés, Sauveterre, and Toul.

TABLE IV

Town	Date of member list	Date of tax- roll	Number of members paying	Number of non- members paying	Average paid by members in livres	Average paid by non-members in livres
Albi (artisans)...	1794	1789	80	526	2.53	1.44
Albi (merchants).	1794	1789	51	102	12.11	5.79
Bourges.....	1795	1789	72	524	6.05	3.64
Cordes (weavers)	1794	1789	20	81	3.95	2.95
Montbard.....	1794	1790	31	162	2.82	1.17
Rabastens.....	1795	1789	142	290	4.24	2.90
Ste-Marie-aux- Mines.....	1794	1789	63	336	2.27	1.00
Toulouse (certain trades).....	1794	1790	53	347	5.94	3.63
Vauvert.....	1794	1790	82	105	2.37	1.34
Total.....			594	2473	4.47	2.49

That portion of the clubs drawn from the merchants and artisans (for these paid the bulk of this tax) is then clearly the most prosperous of that class. The steady master workmen outnumber the wild young apprentices in these clubs.

Too much is perhaps not to be concluded from our next table. Jacobins who bought property—mostly land—confiscated from noblemen and priests had perhaps enriched themselves in ways familiar to politicians—revolutionary or not. Still, they appear to have been a bit too numerous to have been grafters to a man; and we can at least be sure that men who invested money in land are not likely to have been communists at heart. As with table III., the averages contrasted are those for Jacobins and non-Jacobins; but the number of Jacobin buyers, and their numerical relationship to the total membership, is also given.

In addition, 517 members of clubs in Beauvais, Chablis, Dijon, Le Havre, Vermenton, and Villeneuve-sur-Yonne out of a total membership of 2160 made purchases of national property; with the 12 clubs above considered, this makes 22 per cent. of the Jacobins investors in the lands of the nobility and the clergy. This, of course, confirms the middle-class character of the Jacobins.

Finally, there are two other bits of information available which serve to indicate the social responsibilities of the group of Jacobins. The first is the age of their members. For eight clubs considered¹⁵ the average age varies very little, from 38.3 years to 43.4 years. The average for the group of eight was 41.6 years. There were some

¹⁵ Albi, Belfort, Bourges, Gaillefontaine, Lunéville, Nuits-St-Georges, St. Saëns, and Ventes d'Eawy.

TABLE V

<i>Town</i>	<i>Date of list</i>	<i>Number of resident members</i>	<i>Number of members buying</i>	<i>Per cent.</i>	<i>Non-members buying</i>	<i>Amount bought by members in livres</i>	<i>Amount bought by non-members in livres</i>	<i>Members in livres</i>	<i>Average sale Non-members in livres</i>
Castres.....	1794	461	67	15	48	1,834,305	370,080	27,378	7,918
Colmar.....	1791-1795	719	131	18	133	1,697,550	837,510	12,965	6,297
Faverney.....	1794	133	12	9	5	27,750	7,925	2,296	1,585
Jussey.....	1794	238	43	17	9	434,375	37,925	10,102	4,214
Manneville-la-Goupil ...	1794	43	6	12	2	46,150	5,680	7,692	2,840
Nomény.....	1794	59	16	27	4	235,880	1,210	14,743	303
Noviant-aux-Prés.....	1794	32	8	25	9	57,085	25,170	7,139	2,797
Perpignan.....	1794	426	98	23	159	832,155	361,775	8,491	2,275
Pont-à-Mousson.....	1794	230	116	50	108	2,359,170	540,775	20,338	4,590
Toul.....	1794	166	102	61	253	1,863,660	1,417,750	18,271	5,604
Ste-Marie-aux-Mines....	1794	162	16	10	5	206,195	32,835	12,887	6,297
Tulle.....	1790-1794	576	78	14	34	418,135	175,100	5,361	5,150
Vesoul.....	1795	293	70	24	48	807,590	801,990	11,537	16,708
Totals.....		3558	763	21	817	10,820,000	4,615,725	14,181	5,650

boys in each club, but almost always the sons of prominent members. As can be seen from the average age, the young were quite balanced by the old. In no sense can these clubs be considered a collection of foolhardy young men. The second bit of information concerns the birthplace and actual residence of the members. For 23 clubs¹⁶ the lists of memberships, drawn up mostly at the very end of 1794, show that 2359 were born in the town in which they were living, and that 1456 were born elsewhere; for fifteen of these clubs¹⁷ the lists show that 2571 were resident in the same place before and after 1789, and that 378 had moved into their actual place of residence after 1789—that is, since the Revolution. Too much again must not be concluded from this fragmentary evidence. We do not know for just what proportion of the population of eighteenth-century France birthplace and residence coincided, but it would seem that the 3815 members of the Jacobin clubs above studied numbered rather more immigrants (38 per cent.) than the towns in which they were established. No doubt most of these immigrants came from nearby places, and were often country people who had moved to town; but the point is that they had moved. Sociologists may still dispute as to whether emigration indicates initiative or irresponsibility, but to judge from evidence of tax-lists, these emigrants had been successful. As to the second item, the fact that only 378 out of 2949, or 13 per cent., had moved into the towns since the Revolution began would show that the Revolution was not fathered largely by itinerant and more or less professional trouble-makers, but by men who knew the surroundings in which they worked.

III

These statistics are not in themselves an adequate explanation of the rôle played by the Jacobin clubs in the Revolution. The minutes and correspondence of the clubs, local history, and local biography must be studied before any final conclusions can be reached. No doubt many of the prosperous members of the clubs kept their membership during the Terror precisely in order to moderate Jacobin political action, and tame their wilder fellow-members. No doubt many rich Jacobins were simply grafters who used their membership to cover stock speculation and land-grabbing. Many of the rural clubs (Faverney, Beauvoisin, etc.) include most of the male popu-

¹⁶ Beauvoisin, Belfort, Beynat, Billac, Bourges, Brive, Castres, Dieuze, Gaillefontaine, Giromagny, Lescure, Londinières, Lunéville, Manneville-la-Goupil, Martres-Tolosane, Pont-à-Mousson, Rabastens, St. Saëns, Thann, Turenne, Vauvert, Verfeil, Villemur.

¹⁷ Belfort, Beynat, Billac, Bourges, Brive, Castres, Dieuze, Giromagny, Lescure, Lunéville, Martres-Tolosane, Pont-à-Mousson, Thann, Turenne, Villemur.

lation of the village. This may mean that in these sections the people were whole heartedly in favor of the Revolution; or it may mean that these societies were skillfully organized by the *représentants en mission* and their agents in order to put a good front on their work and that they really represent no unanimity of opinion at all. At any rate, it is obvious that statistics alone are not sufficient to settle these and many other questions necessary to an understanding of the clubs.

Yet such as they are, these statistics permit two very definite negative conclusions, and will provide a starting-point for two positive conclusions. In the first place, it is clear that, even during the Terror, the Jacobins were not a proletariat. More, it is clear that Jacobinism is not in any crude sense a class-movement at all, and that if the economic interpretation of history is to be used to explain the roll of these clubs, it must be used scientifically and not dogmatically. Unless, indeed, one divides all France into "court" and "not-court", the clubs were never recruited exclusively from any one class, no matter how one defines "class". Most clubs in provincial centres like Bourges or Colmar had several of the lesser nobility, several retired officers, and a goodly sprinkling of civil servants of the *ancien régime*. Though those stained by priesthood or nobility were by law excluded during the height of the Terror, many actually did stay on. At Saverne the local boss was an ex-noble, and though he resigned from the club out of respect for the law, he obviously retained as much influence in its councils as ever.¹⁸ As for the lists of occupations given in table I., they show that lawyers, priests, professors, and physicians apparently hobnobbed with cobblers, farmers, and even a few day-laborers. This is borne out if we consider the tax-rolls. The average assessment per Jacobin is pretty much that of the average middle-class resident; but the Jacobin average usually represents a complete cross-section of great, small, and middling incomes. Witness the following deciles, taken quite at random from the clubs represented in tables II. and III.:

Dijon, 1795 (*vingtièmes*), maximum 249 l., minimum 3 l., deciles 11-18-22-27-30-35-45-59-78;

Grenoble, 1795 (*capitation*), maximum 63 l., minimum $\frac{1}{2}$ l., deciles 2-3-3-4-6-6-9-12-18;

Libourne, 1790-1794 (*taille and capitation*), maximum 189 l., minimum $\frac{1}{2}$ l., deciles 2-5-8-15-26-35-48-75-127;

Moulins, 1794 (*capitation*), maximum 71 l., minimum 1 l., deciles 1-2-3-5-6-8-10-13-19;

Perpignan, 1794 (*vingtièmes*), maximum 132 l., minimum $\frac{1}{2}$ l., deciles 1-2-3-4-6-8-11-19-31.

¹⁸ *Revue d'Alsace*, XX. (1869), 23 ff.

The range of incomes shown in these five clubs is typical enough. Any given club might count among its members representatives of the very rich and the very poor, although the bulk of its membership was no doubt middle class. It is hard to see what purely economic interests a man taxed 189 l. and one taxed $\frac{1}{2}$ l. on a graduated poll-tax (the *capitation*) could have had in common.

A second negative conclusion to be drawn from these figures is that it is not permissible to say of the Jacobins that they were failures. Certain sociologists may be justified in concluding for revolutions in general that active revolutionists are usually failures, maladjusted to the environment from which they revolt. But we are concerned with the French Revolution, and not with revolutions in general. No doubt all these clubs contained balked and disappointed men, the *hommes tarés* of reactionary publicists; no doubt the frustrated intellectuals of the time found refuge in Jacobinism. Yet our figures show that the bulk of the membership of the clubs, in city, town, and country, was made up of sober, steady, prosperous men. The *vingtième d'industrie* (table IV.) shows that the Jacobin cobblers were among the best cobblers in town; so too were the Jacobin masons, the Jacobin grocers, the Jacobin manufacturers. One need not be excessively cynical to conclude that these successful men can not have felt their property to be in any danger from the Revolution. Certainly their middle-class respectability helps to explain why the immediate social and economic changes brought about by the Revolution were so slight.

A third conclusion is no more than an inference, but an inference warranted from what the statistics reveal. If these clubs contain rich and poor, laborer and intellectual, speculator and *rentier*—in short, if their members are economically so disparate that no simple economic interest can hold them together—must one not look elsewhere for the common interest that made them, if only for a few years, a group, a political entity? That interest may be called a philosophy, an ideal, a faith, a loyalty, and may seem to the observer a reality, or a myth. But the essential point is that this other-than-economic interest must have existed, for without it the club members would have had nothing in common.

Lastly, it is tempting to go a step further, and transform our second conclusion from a negative to a positive one. It has long been a commonplace of historical scholarship that France on the eve of the Revolution was not only the most prosperous nation on the Continent, but that she was relatively more prosperous than at any time in her history. But the theories of Taine and his followers, whereby the actual revolutionists appear to be crack-brained idealists,

adventurers, and failures, have survived long after the theory that the Revolution was "caused" by misery and oppression has lost credit. The men of 1789 may according to this view have been misguided and over-enthusiastic gentlemen, but gentlemen none the less; the men of 1794, however, were the dregs of society. Now, as tables I., II., and III. will show, the clubs drew their membership increasingly from the poorer classes as time went on, but by no means all their wealthier members forsook them. Indeed, a comparison of the membership of clubs in 1789-1792 and in 1793-1795 shows surprisingly little difference between the two periods. The prosperity and well-being of the bulk of Jacobins is so well attested by these figures that it seems just to conclude that not only was the French Revolution started by the prosperous, but that it was also carried out by the same kind of people. In other words, as far as the French Revolution goes, the typical revolutionist was not a misfit and a failure, but biologically fit *even in the environment from which he revolted*. It is doubtless because of this fact that the French Revolution, as a transfer of political power, was successful.

CRANE BRINTON.

AUTHORITIES

The following references include in alphabetical order all the towns mentioned in the statistical tables. Authorities are given for (a) list of club members, (b) population of town, (c) tax-roll, (d) list of buyers of national property, according to their pertinence. Arch.—archives; mun.—municipal.

Alban (Tarn) also cantonal society for Ambialet

(a) Arch. Tarn série L unclassified; (c) Arch. Tarn C 577.

Albi (Tarn)

(a) Arch. Tarn série L unclassified; (b) Arch. Tarn L 353; (c) Arch. Tarn C 577, C 583.

Avallon (Yonne)

(a) Arch. mun. Avallon I. 2.23.9.

Bacqueville (Seine Inférieure)

(a) Arch. Seine Inférieure L 5600; (c) Arch. Seine Inférieure C 1740.

Beaulieu-sur-Dordogne (Corrèze)

(a) Arch. Corrèze L 756; (b) Arch. Corrèze C 208; (c) *ibid*.

Beauvais (Oise)

(a) Arch. Oise L IV. unclassified; (b) Arch. mun. Beauvais, F1; (c) Arch. mun. Beauvais, G2, G4, G6, G8; (d) Arch. Oise, série Q, unclassified registers of sale of national property.

Beauvoisin (Gard)

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- Billac* (Corrèze)
 (a) Arch. Corrèze L 758.
- Bordeaux* (Gironde)
 (a) Arch. Gironde L 2108, L 2118; (b) Arch. Gironde L 1258; (c) Arch. Gironde L 844, L 845.
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 (a) Arch. Cher L 924; (b) Arch. Cher L 175; (c) Arch. Cher C 204, Bibliothèque de Bourges CC 90.
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 (a) Arch. Corrèze L 760.
- Castres* (Tarn)
 (a) Arch. Tarn série L unclassified; (d) Arch. Tarn Q 140.
- Chablis* (Yonne)
 (a) Arch. Yonne L 1140; (d) Arch. Yonne Q 249.
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 (a) *Revue de Champagne et de Brie*, 1889, p. 260.
- Charost* (Cher)
 (a) Arch. Cher L 925; (b) Arch. Cher L 175; (c) Arch. Cher C 252.
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 (a) L. Leuillot, *Les Jacobins de Colmar*; (b) A. Scherlen, *Topographie de Colmar*; (c) Arch. mun. Colmar, tax-registers, 1789; (d) Arch. Haut Rhin L 866.
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 (a) Arch. Tarn série L unclassified; (c) Arch. Tarn C 577.
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 (a) Arch. Corrèze L 764.
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 (a) E. Sarot, *De l'Organisation . . . de la Manche pendant la Révolution*, p. 186.
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 (a) Arch. Côte d'Or L IV.^b 9.2; (b) L. Hugueney, *Les Clubs Dijonnais sous la Révolution*; (c) Arch. Côte d'Or C 5910; (d) Arch. Côte d'Or Q 241-245.
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 (a) G. Champagne, *La Société Populaire de Dreux*.
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 (a) A. Philippe, "La Société Populaire d'Épinal" in *La Révolution dans les Vosges*, V. 33 ff.
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 (a) Arch. Haute Saône L 358.1; (b) Arch. Haute Saône L 13.1; (c) Arch. Haute Saône L 21.24; (d) Arch. Haute Saône Q 128.
- Gaillefontaine* (Seine Inférieure)
 (a) Arch. Seine Inférieure L 5632.

Gerberoy (Oise)

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- (a) M. Dommanget, "La Société Populaire d'Haudivillers", *Annales Révolutionnaires*, 1916, pp. 709-712.

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- (a) Arch. Haute Saône L 363.1; (b) Arch. Haute Saône L 13.1; (c) Arch. Haute Saône L 21.28; (d) Arch. Haute Saône Q 128.

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- (a) Arch. Tarn série L unclassified; (b) Arch. Tarn L 353; (c) Arch. Tarn C 578.

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- (a) Arch. mun. Libourne, unclassified registers of Jacobin clubs; (b) Arch. Gironde L 1876; (c) Arch. Gironde L 842.

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- (a) L. Bultingaire, *Le Club des Jacobins de Metz*, pp. 94, 99.

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- Nîmes* (Gard)
 (a) Arch. Gard L 11.3; (c) Arch. Gard C 1072-1073.
- Nomény* (Meurthe-et-Moselle)
 (a) Arch. Meurthe-et-Moselle L 3135; (b) Arch. Meurthe-et-Moselle L 1898; (c) Arch. Meurthe-et-Moselle L 1887; (d) Arch. Meurthe-et-Moselle Q 16.
- Noviant-aux-Prés* (Meurthe-et-Moselle)
 (a) Arch. Meurthe-et-Moselle L 3124; (b) Arch. Meurthe-et-Moselle L 1898; (c) Arch. Meurthe-et-Moselle L 1887; (d) Arch. Meurthe-et-Moselle Q 16.
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 (a) A. Planté, "La Société . . . d'Orthez", *Bulletin de la Société de Pau*, vol. XXIX. (1901).
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 (a) Arch. Haute Garonne L 3166; (c) Arch. Haute Garonne C 1238, 1212, 1173, 1288, 1266, 1152.
- Pont-à-Mousson* (Meurthe-et-Moselle)
 (a) Arch. Meurthe-et-Moselle L 3137; (d) Arch. Meurthe-et-Moselle Q 16.
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 (a) F. Lorin, "La Société Populaire de Rambouillet", *Mémoires de la Société . . . de Rambouillet*, XIII. 291-367.
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 (a) Arch. Meurthe-et-Moselle L 3138; (b) Arch. Meurthe-et-Moselle L 1588; (c) Arch. Meurthe-et-Moselle L 1598.
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 (a) Arch. Cher L 925.
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 (a) *Bulletin de la Société Philomatique Vosgienne*, XXX. 167-311;
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 (a) O. Bled, *Les Sociétés Populaires à St. Omer pendant la Révolution*.
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- (a) V. Forot, *Le Club des Jacobins de Tulle*, pp. 569-605; (c) Arch. Corrèze C 144; (d) Arch. Corrèze Q 483.

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- (a) Arch. Corrèze L 789; (b) Arch. Corrèze C 220; (c) *ibid.*

Vauvert (Gard)

- (a) Arch. Gard 11 L 3; (c) Arch. Gard 4 L 4.36.

Ventes d'Eawy (Seine Inférieure)

- (a) Arch. Seine Inférieure L 5736; (c) Arch. Seine Inférieure C 1943.

Verfeil (Haute Garonne)

- (a) Arch. Haute Garonne L 3166; (c) Arch. Haute Garonne C 1298.

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- (a) Arch. Yonne L 208; (d) Arch. Yonne Q 249.

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- (a) Arch. Haute Saône L 366.2; (b) M. Cousin, *L'Esprit Public dans le Baillage d'Amont pendant la Révolution*; (c) Arch. Haute Saône L 21.28; (d) Arch. Haute Saône Q 128.

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THE FATE OF CALHOUN'S SOVEREIGN CONVENTION IN SOUTH CAROLINA

THE story of the development of Calhoun's theory of sovereignty and the sovereign convention of the people of a state as the theoretical basis for nullification is one of the commonplaces of American history. Even better known is the assertion of the theory in justification of the right of secession when South Carolina in 1860 led the Southern states out of the Union. But the final chapter of the tale of the sovereign convention in South Carolina seems never to have been told, though the angry turning of the people of that state in 1862 upon this Frankenstein of their creating, forcing it in defiance of the old theory, to put an unwilling end to its discredited existence, constitutes one of the most ironical incidents in American history.

The question of secession was regarded as settled in South Carolina when the legislature, in November, 1860, voted to issue the call for a state convention, and the people turned instinctively to their old and tried leaders to conduct them safely to the promised land. The group which met on December 17 to act as the sovereign people of South Carolina in convention assembled was a grave and dignified body, most of the members past middle life. The ablest and most prominent men of the state in all walks of life were there—planters, merchants, judges, clergy, as well as political leaders. Pride in their character and ability seemed universal.¹ The convention voted the ordinance of secession, made the necessary changes in the state government, sent delegates to Montgomery for the organization of the Southern Confederacy, and, in May, 1861, ratified the constitution of the Confederacy. Then it adjourned, having voted that on January 1, 1862, its legal existence should come to an end unless the president should before that date again convene it.²

The date for the dissolution of the convention was almost at hand when, in November, 1861, the war came to South Carolina's own shores. Scarcely had men begun to steel themselves to the shock when the incredible news burst upon them that Port Royal had fallen and the most cultured and aristocratic section of the state (and the hotbed of secession) had been abandoned to the enemy with only the

¹ *Charleston Courier*, Dec. 17, 1860, Jan. 4, 1861; *Greenville Southern Enterprise*, Dec. 6, 13, 1860; *New York World*, Dec. 22, 1860 (Charleston correspondent); *New York Evening Post*, Dec. 22, 1860 (P.); Joseph LeConte, *Autobiography*, ed. W. D. Armes, p. 180; Mary B. Chesnut, *Diary from Dixie*, p. 4.

² *Journal of the South Carolina Convention, 1860 to 1862*, p. 285.

slightest defense, and a very large amount of cotton, instead of being burned by heroic owners, had become the rich prize of war. In stunned humiliation and bitterness, amidst the hot exchange of charges and recriminations,³ South Carolina bent to the task of defending the rest of her soil. It would be Charleston's turn next, and Georgetown's. There was hysterical vowing that Charleston, Carolina's sacred city, should be destroyed by her inhabitants sooner than surrendered.⁴ Like a diabolical answer to this wild prayer, came the terrible fire of December 11-12, which swept a large area of the city, destroying some of the finest public buildings and innumerable private residences, with a loss of millions of dollars worth of property and the reduction of hundreds of poor families to want. It was a disaster from which, even in normal times and with the aid that poured in at once from all over the South, it must have taken years to recover.

While Charlestonians organized soup kitchens, and refugees from the occupied region began the painful treks which were to become so marked a feature of the next three years, the state authorities struggled with the military problems. There was everywhere utter confusion and disorganization; "the Legislature had given us a Military Bill, which did not meet the exigencies of the case, the property of our citizens was being stolen or destroyed, the Governor was doing or could do nothing for the benefit of the State, but much to produce confusion; conflicting and incomprehensible orders were emanating from the military department, and indiscreet and injurious proclamations from the Executive. Everything was in confusion and every body complaining".⁵ However much men came later to differ over the remedy which was applied, there was general agreement at this time that a remedy was needed, that the governor and legislature were inadequate to the situation.⁶ What more natural, in their desperate need, than to turn for help to their oldest and wisest, to the convention, which providentially had not yet ended its legal existence? There seemed general approval when President Jamison issued the call and the body once more convened on December 27, 1861.⁷

³ Charleston *Courier*, Nov. 27 ff., 1861.

⁴ Hayne's report in *Journal of the South Carolina Convention, 1860 to 1862*, pp. 370-372.

⁵ Charleston *Courier*, July 25, 1862 (Civis).

⁶ *Ibid.*, Nov. 27-29, 1861, July 16, 1862, Oct. 21, Nov. 8, 1862 (speeches by Wardlaw and Richardson); Charleston *Mercury*, Apr. 29, July 4-6, Sept. 5, 1862 (S. C.); Johnson Hagood, *Memoirs of the War of Secession*, p. 37 ff. Cf. British consul Bunch to Lyons, Aug. 16, 1861, quoted in E. D. Adams, *Great Britain and the American Civil War*, I. 186, n. 1.

⁷ Charleston *Courier*, Jan. 10, 1862 (Justice), July 16, 1862.

The convention had no doubts or scruples as to its competency to the work at hand. Paying scant attention to Governor Pickens's shouldering of the responsibility upon the Confederate authorities, they set themselves sternly, in secret session, to bring order out of the chaos.⁸ But the convention could not remain in session indefinitely. How insure continuing energy and system and clear judgment in the defense of the state? Reluctantly, with a minority opposing it to the end,⁹ and many of the majority silencing their doubts by the recollection of John Rutledge's dictatorship in the Revolutionary War, it voted the creation of an executive council of five members—the governor, the lieutenant governor, and three others chosen by the convention—practically to supplant the governor. They were to take complete charge of the military organization of the state. All the ordinary powers of the executive were now to be exercised by majority vote of the council, and extraordinary powers adequate to the emergency were bestowed upon it.¹⁰ Special ordinances declaring that no part of the ordinary militia law should stand in their way and suspending certain parts of the state constitution were also passed, the latter however by a narrow vote.¹¹ The council was to be responsible to the convention, which adjourned to meet again in January, 1863, unless sooner called by the president.

Governor Pickens perforce submitted, protesting that there would "now be great imbecility in acting as Commander in chief", and some objections were at once voiced.¹² But the war situation was so critical and so tense through the early days of 1862, in South Carolina as in the other war zones, that for a time there was acquiescence while the council attacked its difficult task with vigor. It organized the military forces of the state under a system of conscription,¹³ it appointed officers itself instead of allowing them to be

⁸ *Journal of the Convention*, p. 554 ff. There had been a lack of harmony from the beginning between the governor and the convention. See copies of Pickens's correspondence in the Crawford Papers, Library of Congress; letter of Maxcy Gregg in *Charleston Mercury*, Sept. 17, 1862.

⁹ The vote was 96 to 23. *Journal of the Convention*, pp. 367, 373.

¹⁰ It was given power to declare martial law, arrest and detain disloyal or disaffected persons, order and enforce, subject to the owner's right to receive due compensation, such disposition of private property for the public good as seemed to it necessary, appoint such agents as were necessary, etc., and to draw money from the state treasury for these purposes. The governor and two of the elected members would constitute a quorum and a majority of those present was required for any action. *Ibid.*, pp. 793-795.

¹¹ The vote was 50 to 45. *Ibid.*, pp. 380, 391.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 385-386; copies of Pickens's letters in the Crawford Papers; *Charleston Courier*, Jan. 10, 18, 23, Feb. 11, 1862 (with quotations from other newspapers); *Charleston Mercury*, May 3, 1862 (Aldrich).

¹³ On the difficulties of listing the troops in Virginia see *Journal*, p. 624.

elected by the troops, it declared martial law in certain war zones, it instituted experimental ventures of various sorts for the production and manufacture of war supplies, it constructed a gunboat, it made a loan to a railroad company and built a railroad bridge, it prohibited the export of cotton, it turned South Carolina College into a military hospital, it prohibited the distilling of whiskey from grain when the high price of liquor offered such a tempting road to wealth that a grain famine seemed threatened, it suppressed public bar-rooms at railway stations to stop the shocking scenes caused by the sale of liquor to troops in transit,¹⁴ it impressed slave labor for the construction of fortifications in Charleston harbor—in short it did what it had been appointed to do, organized the man power and material resources of the state for the war which had come upon it.¹⁵

Practically every step in the process did ruthlessly, if necessary, violence to the individualism which had long been the conscious pride and boast of Carolinians. Every burden imposed by the new programme came, moreover, just at the time when the war passed from the first stage of dramatic heroism and began to settle into a dreary round of endurance and anguish which seemed to lengthen itself into infinity. With the full burden of military service, the full effectiveness of the blockade, the sharply rising prices, attributed to greedy speculators and "extortioners" battenning on the misery of the people, the heavy taxes which would be heavier with the expenditures of the council, the scattering of the population as increasing numbers of refugees, white and black, fled from the occupied and threatened regions—with all these there appeared, naturally enough, the first manifestations of war weariness.¹⁶ Naturally, too, people were at first inclined to attribute many of their sacrifices and sufferings to the inefficiency and blundering or to the abuse and tyranny of those in authority. Scarcely therefore had the council's stringent measures begun the inevitable disrupting of normal economic processes when an outcry rose, sharp and shrill, and the three men,¹⁷ whose ability

¹⁴ "The evil had become so great, that there seemed to be an universal outcry—murders, brawls, fatal accidents among our troops, particularly while passing on the Railroads, had become of frequent occurrence. The scenes exhibited were shocking to decency." The measures taken were said to be successful and the drunkenness of troops on the railroad cars to have largely disappeared. Report of Hayne in *Charleston Courier*, Sept. 12, 13, 1862; also in the *Journal*.

¹⁵ Reports of the members of the council were published in the *Journal of the Convention*, and also in the newspapers. See *Charleston Courier*, Apr. 30, May 1, 5, 28, Sept. 12, 13, 1862.

¹⁶ One finds, for instance, efforts to encourage flagging spirits, and complaints of the evasion of military service. *Charleston Courier*, May 21, June 27, Oct. 9, ff., 1862; cf. C. C. Hopley, *Life in the South*, II. 202.

¹⁷ Former United States Senator James Chesnut, Attorney General I. W. Hayne, former Governor W. H. Gist.

and loyalty to the state had been tested by years of public service, whose integrity all men had considered beyond the shadow of doubt, suddenly found themselves confronting a storm of misrepresentation and abuse probably unparalleled in the history of the state.

It was apparently the order of the council that the whole amount of gold and silver plate in private hands in the state be reported, with a view to the possibility of using it in emergency as the basis of a state currency, which was the signal for the first concerted movement of protest. There were public meetings, in April, 1862, in Edgefield and Marion districts, the former, Governor Pickens's home, which passed resolutions disapproving the creation of a body with unlimited powers, and declaring that the convention ought to have adjourned *sine die* immediately after ratifying the Confederate constitution. In Charleston, where the enforcement of the draft "encountered every species of harassment and delay", a petition was signed by over seven hundred, asking the delegates to the convention from that city to work for the summoning of the convention in order that it might be dissolved. All demanded a return to "constitutional government".¹⁸

The council recognized the order regarding the gold and silver plate as a blunder and withdrew it, but otherwise went steadily forward with its task, to the accompaniment of an ever louder chorus of disapproval. The chief specific grievance was the creation of salaried offices which increased the taxes. The members of the council themselves, with their salaries of \$2000 (!) a year, were denounced for their selfish ambition in taking advantage of the disorder for their own sordid ends. The general charge was that the council was exercising legislative authority, and the secrecy of its proceedings gave color to the accusation of arbitrary power and tyranny. Shriller grew the cries of despotism, star chamber, irresponsible oligarchy. The "board of five governors" was destroying the liberties of the people. Either the council had usurped powers not granted it by the convention, or the convention itself had been guilty of usurpation.¹⁹

There was no doubt that the agitation was encouraged by certain individuals and groups.²⁰ In spite of urging, only some dozen of the

¹⁸ Reports of Hayne and Chesnut in *Journal of the Convention*, pp. 660, 591; Pickens's correspondence in Crawford Papers; *Charleston Courier*, April 24, 29, May 1, 2, 1862.

¹⁹ The newspapers, particularly the *Charleston Courier*, were filled with editorials, communications, and quotations on the subject from the beginning of May into September, 1862; see for example the *Courier*, May 22, 27, July 16. See also Hayne's discussion of the charges in his report in the *Journal of the Convention*.

²⁰ *Charleston Courier*, May 8, 15, 1862.

districts of the state held meetings of protest. Yet the press seems to have been predominantly in the opposition, and friends and foes alike of the council regarded the situation with apprehension.²¹ Certainly the defenders of the council were few and for the most part amazingly lukewarm. On one point, however, they spoke with decision, on the theoretical question of the sovereign power of the convention.²² For in this internal conflict in the midst of the war, though no more devoted patriots served the cause of the state than the former nationalists, the old clash of opinion between secessionists and nationalists over state sovereignty and the sovereign convention was heard once again like an ironical echo from that earlier, happier day.

The Charleston *Courier* had been head and front of South Carolina unionism and had broken many a lance with its opponents over the abstract questions of political theory involved in the conflicts. Zestfully dipping now into its files,²³ it brought forth and refurbished all its old arguments, and though it refrained from recalling its solemn warning that secession was revolution and meant war, it had no compunctions about exploiting to the utmost the absurdities in the triumphant theory exposed by its practical operation. That theory, as developed by Calhoun and enunciated by South Carolina, was in brief that sovereignty, illimitable and indivisible in nature, was an attribute of the people of the state who acted in their sovereign capacity through a convention chosen for this purpose. This convention was the sovereign people in action. "We the people of the State of South Carolina in convention assembled" began the pronouncements of 1832, 1852, and 1860. South Carolina had accepted the theory as the law and the gospel these thirty years. But what had been swallowed with avidity when it offered a mode of relief against a hostile central government had a different flavor when it threatened to subject an unwilling people indefinitely to the rule of the convention and its "bantling", the council. The metaphysical abstraction of a body, all powerful, unaccountable to the people because it was itself the people in the exercise of their sovereignty, broke down in the face of inexorable facts. A few courageous souls might still parrot the old formula that it was the essence of sovereignty to be omnipotent; the "sovereign people" could not be guilty of abuse of power; sovereignty could not be despotism. But the *Courier*, denounced in the old days for its heresy, now struck a responsive chord

²¹ *Courier*, May 27, July 9, 16, Aug. 17, 21, 25, Sept. 5, 1862.

²² *Ibid.*, Aug. 6, 13, ff., 1862 (Civis); Charleston *Mercury*, May 3, Aug. 7, 14, Sept. 2, 1862. The *Mercury* was too much taken up by its fight with President Davis to be interested.

²³ Its articles of March to May, 1857, March 9, 1858, were republished practically without change.

when it republished the argument that conventions were not the people in their highest sovereign capacity, possessed of supreme powers, but merely representative bodies, extraordinary delegates assembled on extraordinary occasions to discharge functions to which the ordinary governments were inadequate or unsuited, but with only derivative, not original authority, responsible to the people themselves, the only true sovereigns. Previous to nullification, it showed by long historical disquisitions, South Carolina conventions had used the phrase "delegates of the people", which embodied the true doctrine that they were representative bodies, not uncontrolled or uncontrollable.²⁴

Once started, the discussion tended of course to reach out to all the old differences. The long editorials and communications which filled the columns of the newspapers must have stirred memories of nullification days. With all the zeal of that earlier day, the *Courier* elaborated its argument far beyond the practical requirements of the immediate issue and debonairly plied the ax to the orthodox Carolinian doctrine of "exclusive, indivisible, omnipotent and unalienable State sovereignty". Sovereignty, it argued, has none of these attributes. There is no supreme, absolute, or illimitable power lodged anywhere, in government, convention, or people, in the political systems of Federal and Confederate America. Bills of rights, for example, are limits on the people. Sovereignty is not supremacy. The people are the source of all political power or sovereignty, but their right to confer power or sovereignty on others is not sovereignty. Sovereignty consists in making, interpreting, and executing laws, and when these functions are divided or entrusted to separate depositaries, and especially when these are controlled by a constitution restricting their powers, the sovereignty is not absolute or supreme, but modified or limited as well as divided. The right of the people to resume or recall governmental authority, to change an old or establish a new government, is not sovereignty. When, in the American system, the people are said to be sovereign, and the only sovereigns, it means that by means of the representative system they take part in the administrative sovereignty. South Carolina's sovereignty is a constitutional or limited sovereignty; it is not vested in her inorganic people but in her government or in her people as a body politic under a representative form of government. In the United States sovereignty is divided between state and nation, each supreme but over different things. In each of these again sovereignty is divided among legislative, executive, and judicial departments, each supreme in its own sphere. According to Calhoun, constitution making was the distinc-

²⁴ *Charleston Courier*, Feb. 11, May 1, July 16, Aug. 28, Sept. 6, 1862.

tive badge of sovereignty. Not so, replied the *Courier*. It is no higher or more distinctive than making war, an act of legislative sovereignty. The argument that the relation between convention and legislature is that of creator and created is untenable. Both are instrumentalities of the people, agents to do certain things. Conventions are usually superior because of their generally superior powers, but in one or two respects the legislature is superior. It may, for instance, by the terms of the act calling the convention into being, limit its action and duration.²⁵

By its tone no less than its argument the *Courier* rode rough-shod over the susceptibilities of its former opponents. It paid its respects to "the usual cant and profanity of extreme State sovereignty talk". But when it argued that, whether or not the convention was supreme when South Carolina stood alone, its supremacy was certainly at an end when she joined the Confederacy, since the Confederate constitution guaranteed to each state a republican form of government, the climax was capped, and it somewhat apologetically denied that it was trying to form a "consolidationist" party, and admitted that the Southern Confederacy was a mere confederacy—though not without anomalies—recognizing the right of secession.²⁶

For all the *Courier's* flings at the metaphysical abstractions of the Calhoun theory, its own arguments were too complicated and fine-spun for most of those who supported its attacks upon the council. Most of them did not wish to question the tenability of the secession theory. There was much floundering, but most were content merely to say that sovereignty rested with the people and was indefeasible. A convention was a representative body, responsible to the people, elected for a single, definite purpose, to form or change a government. No more. It had no legislative power, no power to govern. The existing convention should have dissolved after ratifying the Confederate constitution. Its duty was to meet now and end both the council and itself.²⁷

Meantime the maligned council continued its work amidst difficulties aggravated by the attacks upon the legitimacy of its authority. The impressment of slave labor was one of its most anxious problems. On this subject it stood between the devil and the deep sea. Inevitably a sensitive point with the owners, no method for dealing

²⁵ Sept. 6, 11, 20, 26, Oct. 10, 16, 1862. Burlamaqui was the authority most frequently cited by the *Courier*.

²⁶ *Courier*, July 16, Aug. 21, 28, Sept. 10, 1862; *Charleston Mercury*, Aug. 30, Sept. 8, 1862 (South Carolina).

²⁷ *Courier*, May 16 (G.), July 1 (One of the People), 1862.

with it could be devised which would seem satisfactory to them.²⁸ On the other hand the Confederate generals complained constantly that the insufficiency of labor on the defenses would cause the loss of Charleston. The obstacles which the council met in this matter from up-country planters in particular caused bitter feeling on both sides and gave at times a sectional aspect to the attacks upon the council.²⁹

More spectacular, though perhaps no more serious, was the attempt of the council to provide for the defense of Georgetown by the state when the Confederate generals abandoned it. The plans were made, the equipment at hand, and a call issued for 1000 men from the adjacent regions. Chesnut, chief of the department of the military, tells the sorry tale:

. . . while the men were in the country, the spirit was wanting. Very few volunteered and it became necessary to resort to a draft. Even this was eluded, to a great extent, by the rushing of those who were liable into Confederate service; many among those who submitted to the draft refused to obey the orders of General Harlee; some took to concealment, while others stood in open defiance of the law; others, again, became predatory outlaws, and threatened acts of violence and robbery in the vicinity of the few troops which did assemble at Stone's Landing on the Pee Dee.

. . . Some of the recusants were seized and put in prison; others warned and summoned for trial before a court martial. But the court itself seemed to have been inadequate to the conception or performance of its duty and the defaulters escaped.³⁰

Chesnut did not believe the body of the people in that section were unpatriotic, he said. But the time of the call was a bad one for agricultural folk; the country to which they were ordered was supposed to be unhealthy then; the activity and most of the energy had already been extracted, and love of ease and such motives had full influence among those who remained.

Still, I believe these would have been overcome, but for the fact that there were some leading men, disaffected to the existing Government of the State, who seized upon [the situation] and endeavored to poison the minds of the people by inculcating the idea that the authority from which the orders emanated was unconstitutional—that the Convention of the people of South Carolina was without lawful existence, and power. They were stimulated and supplied with noxious *pabulum*, through the channels of an uninformed press. All have stricken at the sovereignty of the State. . . .

²⁸ See the correspondence between Chesnut and Abbeville district in the *South Carolinian*, Aug. 20, 1862; letter by Hayne in the *Clarendon Banner*, Sept. 9, 1862; Hayne's report in *Journal of the Convention*, pp. 665, 677; letters in the James H. Hammond Papers, Library of Congress.

²⁹ *Charleston Courier*, May 23, Aug. 9, 20, 1862; *Charleston Mercury*, Sept. 9, 20, 1862.

³⁰ Report in *Journal of the Convention*, pp. 592-593.

Permit me to inform you that there are certain recusant Captains, who mock at the power of the Convention, and pretend to defy the Executive authority which it has instituted for the exigencies of the war.³¹

The opponents of the council denied that their attacks tended to embarrass or lessen "the vigor of our defensive war". They insisted that the council had accomplished nothing that the regularly organized governments, state and Confederate, were not competent to do, that the council had been guilty of follies and blunders and was further handicapped by its "inharmonious and discordant" membership. The sharp division in the council was indeed well known, and reached the proportions of a scandal when some correspondence between Governor Pickens and Hayne, one of the members, filled with petty bickering, got into the newspapers, a publicity for which each promptly blamed the other.³²

The convention could meet, before January, 1863, only on call of the president, at his own initiative or at the request of twenty members. As the summer passed with no call for its convening, the popular discussion went to extremes. Suppose the convention continued indefinitely to refuse to meet? Suppose it was determined, as it seemed to be, to perpetuate itself? What recourse had the oppressed people? If, as the old theory ran, and as was now claimed, the convention was above all laws and had absolute, unlimited power, perhaps it could be gotten rid of only by revolution. What was there to prevent the council from hanging anyone who questioned its powers? Every man's life and property were at its mercy. It might "squander the public money, confiscate private property, destroy the liberty of the press—aye, even arrest us for daring to write this article". As a matter of fact, so Hayne reported as chief of the department of justice and police in the council, there were no arrests of "disloyal or disaffected" persons in South Carolina; there had been numerous letters and many affidavits charging disloyalty, but in no case had the council been convinced that the accused's remaining at large was inconsistent with the public safety. Yet the charges

³¹ *Journal of the Convention*, pp. 594-595. The demoralization of Carolinians reached its climax when General Pemberton decided to abandon Coles Island, which had always been regarded as the strategic point for the defense of Charleston. A wave of hysteria swept the city and Pemberton was denounced as a traitor. There was disaffection also among the officers (letter of Richard Yeadon in *Charleston Courier*, June 20, 1862; Pickens correspondence in the Crawford Papers). The council had difficulties also with the Confederate government, in which it argued the sovereignty of the convention. *Journal of the Convention*, pp. 595-596, 670, 715-716; *Charleston Courier*, April 23, 1862.

³² *Charleston Courier*, May 15, July 16, 25, 31, Aug. 1, 2, 5, Sept. 20, 30, 1862.

against the council's arbitrary power continued to the end of its existence.³³

South Carolinians did not like the word "revolution", but still the question remained, where was the remedy? Some threatened the council with impeachment by the legislature. But the question of the relation between the legislature and the convention was a difficult one. The *Courier's* position has been indicated. Chancellor Harper, eminent nullifier, was quoted to the effect that a convention was limited by the terms of the legislative act which called it, but Hayne, who, as attorney general as well as member of the council, felt it his responsibility to assure the public of the complete competency of convention and council to all their acts, held stiffly to the logic that there could be no limits to sovereignty. The point proved to be merely academic, for the legislative act of 1860 calling the convention was in general terms, with no limitation either as to duration or function. Some members of this expiring legislature did, nevertheless, ask the governor to call it in special session that it might express its opinion in the matter. Others suggested that the new legislature, which would be elected in October, could call a new convention for the one express—and limited!—purpose of putting an end to the old one. The old one must then perforce cease to exist, else, according to its own theory, there would be two sovereigns at the same time! This would be revolution, was the solemn reply, and the fear that the outcome might indeed be some popular explosion caused increasing pressure upon members of the convention. The last of August the twentieth member made the request for a meeting and the president issued the call.³⁴

Louder than ever now sounded the refrain, it is the duty of the convention to dissolve. But the approaching meeting of that body seemed to hearten its defenders also, and the newspaper debate now reached its height.³⁵ A special election in Charleston at this time, to fill a vacancy in her delegation, gave that city the opportunity for

³³ Editorials and communications in *Charleston Courier*, May 16, July 8, 24, Aug. 9, 16, 22, Sept. 13, 1862; speeches of Yeadon and Whaley in the legislature, *ibid.*, Dec. 1, 1862, Jan. 7, 1863. Yeadon's "proof" was that he had been told by a neighbor at his summer home that when he removed his family from Charleston, he had to get a permit from the council to move his private stock of wines and liquors to his new home. One of the legislature's measures against the council in December, 1862, was a resolution for the reporting of everyone arrested by the council.

³⁴ *Ibid.* (editorials and communications), July 16, 23, Aug. 1, 6, 8, 13, 14, 18, 19, 23, 25, Sept. 8, 10, 16, 1862.

³⁵ *Charleston Courier* and *Charleston Mercury* in the first days of September. The *Courier* continued its controversy with "Phocion" over political theory, Sept. 20, 26, 30, Oct. 1, 10, 11, 16, 1862.

formal action. There was only one candidate, John Phillips, nominated as "the people's candidate" on a platform of "constitutional liberty" versus the council. The vote was pathetically small—too small to be explained by the war conditions—but Phillips went to the convention with the special mission of bringing that recalcitrant body to a speedy end.³⁶

It was the old Carolina that met in convention on September 9—able, honorable, accustomed to guide, not follow, popular sentiment, but deeply troubled. The complete record of the council's activity was laid before it and referred to a committee of twenty-one. Phillips immediately proposed that the ordinance creating the council be repealed and that all the council's acts be declared repealed save those the governor wished continued. His proposals were referred to a special committee of seven.³⁷

The committee of twenty-one was first to report. It had discovered nothing which seemed to require action by the convention in the way of repeal, modification, or animadversion. Without intending to express approval of every act, it concluded that the duties of the council had been performed with diligence, ability, and an exclusive regard for the public welfare, at great personal sacrifice. The members had placed the state under great obligations, amid discouragements mortifying to the patriot. The committee expressed its conviction that the ordinary powers of the executive would have been inadequate and that the establishment of such a body as the council was necessary. It recommended that the reports of the members of the council be published and all their records opened for public inspection. The question whether any limit could be imposed on the powers of a convention by the act of the legislature calling it—on which Hayne's report argued elaborately—the committee found it unnecessary to discuss, since it considered every act of this convention and council to be embraced in the scope of the act calling it.³⁸

Without much ado the convention adopted the report unchanged,³⁹

³⁶ *Charleston Courier*, Sept. 1-3, 1862; *Charleston Mercury*, Sept. 3, 1862. Phillips received 296 of the 310 votes cast. Compare with Yeadon's 1888 the next October.

³⁷ *Journal of the Convention*, pp. 402, 406-409, 426; *Charleston Mercury*, Sept. 13, 1862.

³⁸ The *Journal* gives also the reports of the subcommittees which examined the different reports from the members of the council. *Charleston newspapers* for Sept. 15, 1862.

³⁹ For attempts to amend, see *Journal*, pp. 426, 429-430; *Charleston Courier*, Sept. 16, 1862. These men had too much regard for the dignity of the state to allow themselves to become involved in a futile constitutional debate. If South Carolina had the right to secede, as we have all claimed, said Judge Wardlaw, it must rest on state sovereignty. Sovereignty is in the people but the convention

then turned to the sharper question as to future policy, presented by the committee of seven. The majority report of that committee recommended that on the convening of the new legislature, November 4, both the convention and the council should come to an end, and the legislature should be empowered to establish and choose another council for the duration of the war. Phillips presented a minority report which stated that only the immediate dissolution of both bodies could allay the popular excitement. The debate was warm and anxious, but quite different from that which had raged so fiercely in the press. Phillips had few sympathizers, but Robert Barnwell, one of the state's most trusted leaders, received little support for his contention that both convention and council should continue unchanged: they should not quail before popular clamor; the danger was not over; their work was not done. Many thought that the opposition had been exaggerated, that it was limited to a few districts, and had been largely manufactured by demagogues and an unbridled press. Yet most agreed that the situation was fraught with danger. This august body must not allow itself to be shoved off the scene, but, with due regard for the dignity of its exit, go it must. Also the argument that the situation had radically changed since the creation of the council and that the Confederate government now had affairs in hand to such an extent that the council was superfluous, was strongly urged and apparently had great weight. In the end it was voted that the term of the existing members of the council should end in December, and that the legislature might modify or abolish the body; that the convention itself should come to an end on December 17, two years from the date of its origin.⁴⁰

The hope that the people, when enlightened, would respond to the convention's solution in a spirit of sweet reasonableness was destined to a rude shock. To have made the desired concession but postponed its execution seemed to let loose all the accumulated grievances and resentments, even the pettier personal angers that had hitherto been restrained by the canons of public discussion. The new legislature, elected in October,⁴¹ was overwhelmingly opposed to the council, and

is the only constitutional organ of the people in their sovereign capacity. J. D. Pope agreed, but conceded that a convention was limited to the purposes of the call. J. P. Richardson insisted that the convention was merely representative; it could be limited and could not legislate. *Charleston Courier*, Oct. 21, Nov. 8, Dec. 4, 1862.

⁴⁰ *Journal of the Convention*, pp. 425, 432; Charleston newspapers, especially the *Mercury*, Sept. 13-20, 1862; *Courier*, Nov. 8, 1862.

⁴¹ It is not clear from the newspapers how prominent the issue was in the election. But war weariness and a painful foreboding which led men to strike out at those who had been most prominent in bringing about secession clearly

when it met, at the last of November, its first act was to declare war upon it. The convention had not only invited the governor and legislature, discredited and insulted by its course,⁴² to play the last card, but had presented to them the high trump. The invitation was angrily accepted, and the few who pleaded that justice be tempered with mercy received scant heed. It was the convention's responsibility to restore constitutional government to the state but the convention had shifted the responsibility. This "old man of the sea" should learn that it could not with impunity "drag out an existence grown hateful to the people". The odious council should not be allowed "to die an easy death". Not satisfied with an act abolishing that body, which passed the senate unanimously, the house by a vote of 96 to 6, they proceeded to read the riot act to the "sovereign Convention". In solemn resolutions they declared⁴³ that their respect for the state constitution was unabated; they still regarded the separation of powers as necessary to the existence of the constitution, and all attempts to destroy this as tending toward anarchy and despotism. Conventions, they continued, should be called only for important constitutional changes, not to conduct the government, either directly or through conventions or councils. There was and must always be "an essential difference as to power, capacity and right between the people themselves and any convention of their Delegates for whatever purpose assembled". And ending with a climax which brought balm to their wounded feelings, however difficult if not impossible it might

appear. In Charleston, Yeadon, Trenholm, and M. P. O'Connor were elected; while Barnwell Rhett, jr., Spratt, and Cunningham were defeated. W. G. Simms, visiting Columbia during the legislature, wrote Hammond that it seemed the feeblest body South Carolina had had for years, with 96 new members "each eager to fire his pop gun" at convention and council. James Orr, formerly the most prominent nationalist, seemed the most popular man in the state. Aldrich, a secessionist, was elected speaker of the house—he had been against the council—but his vote was small and it was said that if the house had been full, Perry, arch-Unionist, would have been chosen. Simms to Hammond, Dec. 4, 1862, Hammond Papers; *Charleston Courier*, Oct. 15, 17, Nov. 26, 28, 1862; *Charleston Mercury*, Oct. 14, 15, 1862; McCarter's Journal, II. 36–37 (MS. in the Library of Congress).

⁴² This had figured all through the discussion. Governor Pickens's message made no mention of his own share in some of the council's most unpopular measures. *Charleston Courier*, May 10, June 19, July 16, Aug. 9, 13, 1862; *Mercury*, Nov. 26, 27, 1862; *Journal of the Convention*, p. 662; Simms to Hammond, cited above; Pickens correspondence in the Crawford Papers.

⁴³ They slid calmly over points on which opinions differed. Some now said there were two kinds of conventions, revolutionary conventions and constitutional conventions. The convention of 1860 was of the latter (!) sort and as such was limited. *Courier*, Jan. 7, 1863; *Mercury*, Dec. 13, 1862; cf. Perry, in *Courier*, Dec. 17, 1862.

prove to be in practice,⁴⁴ they expressed their profound regret that any measures had been adopted by the convention at variance with these principles. It would be the duty of the legislature to remedy, in so far as it could, any mischief or inconvenience that might have resulted therefrom.⁴⁵

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⁴⁴ The work of the council was not undone. Many of the same perplexities and troubles continued of course.

⁴⁵ These resolutions passed the house by a vote of 88 to 15. In the senate there was some protest against the last one which passed 25 to 11. For debate in the legislature see the *Courier* and the *Mercury* for Nov. 19, Nov. 27 to Dec. 17, 23, 1862, Jan. 7, 1863.

NOTE AND SUGGESTION

THE LESSER *CURIA REGIS* UNDER THE FIRST TWO NORMAN KINGS OF ENGLAND

THE Norman kings of England disposed of important business with the aid of a national council or *curia regis*. This assembly met as a rule three times a year, though sometimes oftener, and was composed in the main of the magnates of the realm,¹ who included not only the earls and the more important barons but also the archbishops, the bishops, and some of the abbots. The only theory which appears concerning the membership of the great *curia regis* is baronial. Sometimes it is said to consist of barons and bishops.² In official documents, however, of the reign of William the Conqueror, individual bishops and abbots are sometimes classed as barons.³ Since the Conqueror required the homage of bishops and abbots before consecration,⁴ and feudal military service from all the former and some of the latter,⁵ there can be no doubt concerning the baronial status of the greater prelates. It has sometimes been held that the attendance of the king's more important household officials constitutes an exception to the baronial rule, yet these were all clearly barons with the exception of the chancellor and the chaplains who belonged to his department. Members of the great council who did not rank as barons were too few to vitiate its essential quality. This is evident in one of its functions. It not only counselled the king concerning legislation and matters of general policy, but it also served as a high court. In the latter capacity it appears as the king's tribunal for feudal causes.⁶ It was thus an assembly of the king's barons or vassals who found judgment in matters affecting their fellow vassals.

The use of the word *curia* was not confined to the great assembly. It appears in a whole series of connotations. Generally speaking, it

¹ See *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, anno 1087.

² Liebermann, *National Assembly in Anglo-Saxon Period*, p. 79.

³ Adams, *Council and Courts*, pp. 36-37; Davis, *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, nos. 129, 221; cf. *barones regis*, *Domesday Book*, IV. 497, and compare with III. vii.

⁴ Eadmer, *Historia Novorum*, Rolls Series, pp. 1-2.

⁵ Round, *Feudal England*, pp. 249-251. The amount of this *servitium debitum* of 1166 had long been traditional. *Ibid.*, pp. 257-262.

⁶ Liebermann, *National Assembly*, pp. 85-86; Adams, *Council and Courts*, ch. II.

was used in the different senses in which the English word court may be used today. A man's courtyard is in the records of the Norman period called a *curia*.⁷ The king's house or hall was his *curia*,⁸ and those associated with the place were curials. The boon companions of William Rufus are described collectively as *curialis juvenus*.⁹ More germane to the present discussion is the fact that those who were employed at court¹⁰ about the king's business or who travelled in his train¹¹ were *curiales*, that his household was a *curia*,¹² and that the king's attendants who heard pleas, and found judgment wherever he happened to be in England or in Normandy, constituted a *curia*. There was not only a permanent *curia* in the administrative sense, but there was a body of men whom the king might bring together as an assembly when he so desired. It is with this latter phase of the permanent or lesser *curia* that the present investigation is primarily concerned.

The late Professor George B. Adams has thrown much light on this lesser *curia* or council in the reign of Henry I.¹³ It advised the king upon matters of policy, as did the great council. It also disposed of judicial cases. Business left unfinished by the great council was sometimes completed by a segment of it meeting with the king at a later time. Before the end of the reign a small council met at regular intervals, apparently twice a year, and usually in the king's absence, as an exchequer. Liebermann sees in all this a sort of administrative revolution, paralleling that under the contemporary French king, Louis VI., by which the smaller body took over much of the work of the larger.¹⁴ It should be added, however, that a fair proportion of the work of the lesser council in England during the first third of the twelfth century came not so much through a revolution in administrative methods as through a growth of judicial and fiscal activity at court.

This small council was not an innovation of the reign of Henry I., but the question of its earlier activity has not been carefully investigated. Adams believed that it existed in the reigns of William the

⁷ *Domesday Book*, I. 154b.

⁸ *Leges Henrici Primi*, 80: 7a. Cf. the Latin version of II Canute 59; also McIlwain, *High Court of Parliament*, pp. 29-30, and 30, n. 1.

⁹ Eadmer, *Historia Novorum*, p. 48.

¹⁰ *Curiales clerici*: Ordericus Vitalis, ed. A. le Prevost, IV. 11.

¹¹ William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, Rolls Series, II. 369; cf. *fideles sui de curia*, *Hist. Monast. de Abingdon*, Rolls Series, II. 80.

¹² The *A-S. Chron.* (1103) calls even the great council the king's *hired* or household; cf. Liebermann, *National Assembly*, p. 75, n. 6.

¹³ Adams, *Council and Courts*, pp. 110-126.

¹⁴ Liebermann, *National Assembly*, p. 78.

Conqueror and William Rufus, but stated that this is not made clear in the sources.¹⁵ The same line of reasoning which he employed in other matters and the same type of materials which he used seem adequate, however, to establish the point. One concrete bit of evidence which he adduces is not convincing. He refers to a list of witnesses to a document issued by the Conqueror some years before he invaded England,¹⁶ but this of itself is not satisfactory proof of the meeting of a council. Various other writers have assumed upon inadequate grounds that the Conqueror in his lifetime actively employed a small council in England. W. J. Corbett makes the statement that a gathering of a few of the household officials reinforced by one or two prelates and perhaps one or two barons was regarded before the death of William as a sufficient meeting of the *curia regis* for all the most important kinds of business.¹⁷ This brilliant generalization seems to go further than the known evidence admits. There is no indication, for instance, that William enacted legislation upon the advice of such a council, nor is it certain that he consulted them upon general state policy. Two circumstances account for the conclusion cited. It is natural to assume that what was true under Henry I. was true in his father's time; yet this is by no means certain. In the second place, Corbett's statement obviously rests upon the general assumption that the group of persons who from time to time witnessed the Conqueror's documents constituted a council. There are a few royal charters of the Norman kings which are said to have been discussed or authorized *in concilio*,¹⁸ but the writer has neither found nor seen cited any English charter of the Conqueror witnessed by a small group which purports to have been issued in a council. Few scholars have been so cautious on this point as Haskins, who, in speaking of the men who witness the ducal documents in Normandy before 1066, says that their function is "attestation rather than assent" and "that with a few well indicated exceptions it is impossible to say when they have met as an assembly."¹⁹ To conclude that when a circle about the king witness his documents he consults them as a council is to assume something which is incapable of

¹⁵ Adams, *Council and Courts*, pp. xvii, 122-123; *Origin of English Constitution*, pp. 66-67.

¹⁶ Adams, *Origin of English Constitution*, p. 195. Of the two documents cited, one (Ordericus Vitalis, V. 173-180) presents a group clearly corresponding in size and personnel to a possible small council.

¹⁷ *Cambridge Medieval History*, V. 515.

¹⁸ *Monasticon*, V. 12; Farrer, *Itinerary*, nos. 51, 53. For Normandy, see Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, p. 54, n. 261.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 54-55.

proof²⁰ and something not essentially probable. Even if this were established, it would not show that a small council transacted all the most important kinds of business.

The king's entourage, as revealed by the names of those who witness his acts day by day, is none the less of primary importance to this investigation. These are the persons who are available for work and for counsel. As shown to best advantage in the royal charters and notifications, they may include two classes of persons. Often there are bishops, earls, or barons, or all of these, who seem to have no permanent place at court, persons who, when they attend the great council, rank as *barones*. Then there is a more constant group of *curiales*, men who are in the king's service, some household officials, some persons of undefined position, who are found frequently in attendance and are sometimes seen about the king's work. As already shown, the more important household officials except those of the chancery were barons. The group of *curiales* who seem to be more loosely attached to the court were, in general, either bishops or barons of the second rank. The circle in the king's employ might be designated, like the great *curia regis*, as barons, and this was all the more true when they were reinforced by visiting prelates or barons. Curiously enough this baronial quality often seems lacking in the entourage of the French king Louis VI.²¹ The fact that the men, who in the time of Henry I. disposed of the king's financial business, were known as barons of the exchequer shows how persistent was the theory that the small *curia*, as well as the greater, was baronial in character. Had this not been true, the lesser body would not have been able to qualify for important judicial business.

The easiest approach to the problem of meetings of the lesser *curia*, if one follows these familiar suggestions, should be on the judicial side of its activity. If it is shown that its members try cases as they follow the king about, this evidence of concerted action is worth far more than the fact that they witness documents, for the latter act may in nearly every case be an individual one. Although Adams gave much attention to some aspects of the king's judicial organization, he did not investigate very fully the court held in the presence of the first two Norman kings on their travels. That the early Norman monarch held such a court is beyond doubt. An instance wherein Duke William and his court gave judgment between

²⁰ Liebermann (*National Assembly*, pp. 17-18) is convinced of the meeting of a small council under Edward the Confessor from the names of witnesses to certain of the king's writs (*Codex Diplomaticus*, nos. 904, 908). This proof Adams (*Council and Courts*, p. 113, n. 25) regards as insufficient.

²¹ See Luchaire, *Louis VI. le Gros*, calendar of documents, *passim*.

two contending communities of monks is recorded before the conquest of England.²² A very clear case occurs in 1080. The abbot and monks of Lonlay, hearing that William was staying at Caen, appeared there to lay certain claims before him. He ordered the bishops and abbots present to retire to another room and hear the case,²³ and they gave a decision. In 1085 a suit between a baron and an abbey was decided in the king's presence in Normandy by his precept, and those who decided the cause on the king's behalf were two abbots, a few barons, and the royal butler.²⁴ That the Conqueror employed similar procedure in England may be inferred from the fact that he commissioned Bishop Geoffrey of Coutances to preside in his place at a famous trial between the bishop of Worcester and the abbot of Evesham.²⁵ A concrete case which Adams cites is unusual in several ways. In 1086 King William devoted a Sunday from morning till evening to the hearing of a plea touching the rights of an abbey, the court being held at a manor of William of Eu in Wiltshire. Those present reached the rather high number of thirty-five, and included the king's two sons, the two archbishops, eight bishops, three earls, and two household officials.²⁶ The question at once arises whether this was not a meeting of the great council; but the circumstances tend to confirm the conclusion that it was not, and that the king was assisted on this occasion by an enlarged or reinforced form of the body which usually attended him.²⁷

In some of the instances just cited one sees that judgment was given by counsel of the barons, just as judicial and other business was transacted in the greater *curia regis* by their counsel. Moreover it is specifically stated on one occasion that a judicial matter, quite clearly not heard before the great council, was decided *principorum meorum consilio*. Another case is recorded as heard by the king's barons and determined by their counsel.²⁸ Although it is difficult in many recorded instances to show that a great council is not in session, yet the evidence for the disposition of causes by those in attendance upon the king is quite strong enough to show a small council in action.

Lest this conclusion seem too highly inferential, the problem should be approached also from another angle. Fortunately the

²² Round, *Calendar of Documents, France*, no. 1172.

²³ *Ibid.*, no. 1114.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, no. 116. No. 165 is a similar case.

²⁵ Bigelow, *Placita Anglo-Normannica*, pp. 17-18; Adams, *Council and Courts*, pp. 70-78. Davis, *Regesta*, no. 423, seems to show parallel procedure.

²⁶ Round, *Calendar*, no. 114; Davis, *Regesta*, no. 220.

²⁷ Adams, *Council and Courts*, pp. 36-37.

²⁸ Round, *Calendar of Docs.*, nos. 165, 1190. In no. 1190 the plea is heard on a special day set for it.

chronicles of the reign of William Rufus afford some further traces of the conciliar activity of the men ordinarily about the king. Statements which attribute the oppressive rule of this king to the counsels of imprudent youths or clever but unscrupulous persons²⁹ may be dismissed as recording mere rumor concerning the influence of the king's private companions and others who had access to him. The story told by Eadmer of the machinations of certain persons, especially William, bishop of Durham, when Anselm's case was before the great council in 1095³⁰ does not make it clear whether the king was taking counsel or merely scheming with individuals. The statement of Florence of Worcester, however, to the effect that at the time of the king's illness in 1093 advice for the amendment of abuses was offered by the barons, seems to hint at the activity of a small council. An incident of the summer of this same year, related by Eadmer, leaves little reasonable doubt. The king, returning from Dover, came to Rochester and was privately consulted by Anselm, archbishop-elect of Canterbury, who asked for the lands of his church as Lanfranc, his predecessor, had previously held them. The king called William, bishop of Durham, and Robert, count of Meulan, and asked that they repeat to those present what Anselm had said. Rufus then replied *per consilium* that he would restore the lands.³¹ A month or so later, at some time in September, the king called together a *conventus nobilium* at Winchester at which Anselm did homage according to the custom of the times and was placed in seisin of the whole archbishopric.³² It is hardly possible to believe that William Rufus could have consulted the great council at Rochester concerning the demands made by Anselm. It is still more improbable that both this and the subsequent assembly at Winchester were sessions of the great council. The latter seems to have been a small gathering. On the day following that on which Anselm became his liegeman William Rufus issued a grant which is witnessed by only eight persons, bishops, barons, and household officials.³³

A few conclusions may be drawn. The first two Norman kings may be represented as turning, sometimes on the spur of the moment, to the barons, bishops, and household officials for counsel. Just as William the Conqueror, when the monks of Lonlay appeared before

²⁹ Henry of Huntingdon, anno 1100. As to the king's private associates, Eadmer, *Hist. Novorum*, p. 48.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 59, 62.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 40; compare the case (*Chron. Mon. de Bello, Anglia Christ. Soc.*, p. 49; Bigelow, *Placita*, p. 123) in which Henry I., at the instance of *consiliatores*, revises an opinion formed *absque consilio*.

³² Eadmer, *Hist. Novorum*, p. 41.

³³ Davis, *Regesta*, no. 337.

him, ordered the bishops and abbots to go out and hear the case, so William Rufus, when Anselm made his request at Rochester, at once ordered that it be repeated to those present and gave his answer by their counsel. The extant judicial records make it reasonably clear that action upon the advice of the king's entourage is a Norman usage and that it is older than the conquest of England. That the small council was extremely useful to the Conqueror and his son there can be no doubt; that its authority, like that of the great council, was regarded as that of a body of barons, is clear. It must have been consulted often, though hardly whenever the king issued a charter or a notification. He may have taken counsel on the spot or called a special meeting for the purpose. There is no evidence as yet that this body was handling the most important business of the realm to the exclusion of the great council and that the lesser did whatever the greater might do. The determination as to which form of the *curia regis* should be consulted rested with the king. The kinds of business which came before the two might often be the same, but matters of the highest importance in legislation, taxation, or judicature, according to all known evidence, were reserved to the greater body for the sake of the wider sanction it afforded.

WILLIAM A. MORRIS.

DOCUMENTS

Letters concerning the "Universal Republic"

THE following group of letters was found in a small bundle, marked "Mazzini", in the Gerrit Smith papers which have recently been given to Syracuse University by Mr. Gerrit S. Miller of Peterboro, New York. Gerrit Smith's interest in social and humanitarian work is well known to all students of American history. One is not surprised to find, therefore, a connection existing between Smith and Mazzini, both of whom had many ideas and ideals in common. Mazzini's schemes and plans for a "Universal Republic" quite naturally attracted the attention of Gerrit Smith, who had become one of the most outstanding republicans of his state and of the country. His interest is well attested by his correspondence and by his characteristic generosity in contributing what must have been a large sum of money for those days.

These letters may prove to be of some value to those concerned with Mazzini's life, as well as to those interested in Smith's career. At the same time, this correspondence will serve to introduce the very valuable gift which Mr. Miller, a grandson of Gerrit Smith, has made to Syracuse University. No complete examination has as yet been made of this collection, known as the Gerrit Smith Miller Collection, although enough has been done to bring to light many important letters from men like Charles Sumner, Wendell Phillips, John J. Astor, William Ladd, and Horace Greeley. Roughly, the dates of this collection extend from 1780 to 1880 and it includes several thousand letters, land books, journals, and deeds. It is hoped that in the near future a definite and accurate statement can be made of these various records.

W. F. GALPIN.

1. MAZZINI TO SMITH.¹

Dear Sir,

From my friend Bulewski² and others I know how our ideas concerning the immense advantages of a close alliance between the republi-

¹ This letter is in the handwriting of Mazzini.

² Lewis Bulewski was despatched late in December, 1865, to the United States as plenipotentiary of the Central European Revolutionary Committee. It appears that a group of European republicans had met in London under the leadership of Mazzini and had decided to issue a call to those of like republican principle in the United States, "To our friends in the United States. . . . You must step forward and take your share in the battle. It is God's battle". Bulewski arrived

cans of the new world are harmonizing, and I know that you belong to that class of men who understand that to be a man is to be one in thought and action, to strive to embody what we believe to be truth into reality. The alliance proposed by us and accepted by the New York and Boston Committees is doubtless a good one and great thought, but requiring to bear fruit a great deal of active energy and a capability for feeling the sacredness of the principle and the practical way through which it can become a powerful fact. You have both. Let me reckon on you as upon one of the principal workers in and for the Alliance. Lend a hand to what I call the laying down of the moral Atlantic Cable. Your help is needed.

The Alliance wants organization, propagandism, a press, travellers, plenty of things requiring funds. Let us strike the coin of the Rep. Alliance. We have proposed to both the Committees the issue of subscription notes, for one, five, ten, twenty dollars, representing the admission to the association or sympathy of those who will not through some individual reason, formally belong to it. It seems to me almost essential that an American name should in these notes be added to ours. The specimen of the notes is by this time in the hands of the New York Committee; and I trust you will see it, think of it and strongly advocate with or without modifications, a speedy realization of the scheme.

Believe me, dear Sir, Ever faithfully yours

JOSEPH MAZZINI.

LONDON Aug. 8 [1866]

2. SMITH TO MAZZINI.³

STATE OF NEW YORK U. S. A.

PETERBORO, Aug. 26 1866.

JOSEPH MAZZINI,
Honored and dear Sir,

I have your letter.⁴ I would be ever grateful for the visit of our esteemed friend Bulewski, had it resulted in nothing more than the honor and happiness of receiving a letter from Mazzini. I have long honored and loved you, regarding you as one of the truest and sublimest interpreters of the Divine will; and as one of the bravest and wisest leaders of our poor humanity in its upward struggle from the abyss of ignorance and superstition, and in its repeated endeavors now here and now there, to escape from the crushing folds of despotism.

With my whole heart do I believe in Republicanism. But for her unhappy inheritance of Slavery, America would long ere this have con- in America early in 1866, and, after having spent several weeks at various cities and conferring with prominent members of Congress, arranged for a meeting to be held in New York in April, at which a committee composed of Messrs. E. A. Stansbury, John Cochrane, F. A. Conkling, Rush C. Hawkins, and Sinclair Tousey drafted a reply to the European Republican Committee in which they announced the organization of an American Republican Committee and pledged their efforts for the extension and future prosperity of republican principles here and abroad. Bulewski evidently stayed in America during most of the summer of 1866, and then returned to London to continue his work in the Central European Revolutionary Committee.

³ This letter is in the handwriting of a clerk, but is marked "Copy" in what is clearly the writing of Gerrit Smith.

⁴ That is the preceding letter.

vinced the civilized world of the beauty and excellence of political self-government. By force of the perverting and corrupting power of Slavery, America has misrepresented, disparaged and disgraced Republicanism. I have very great and painful fear that she will for a time continue to do so. The influences engendered by Slavery still darken and debase her politics and her religion. Nor is this strange, considering for how long a time her politics and religion were adjusted to Slavery. But America will yet arise into a truly Republican nation. She will yet be, as, from her superior advantages for it she is bound to be, the political Pharos of the World.

Not only did I welcome the project of a close alliance between the Republicans of Europe and America. The best writings in aid of Republicanism must go from here to Europe, and from there here. This is one of the most effective ways for helping both the Old World and the New. The Republicans of Europe are necessarily poor. They are constantly exhausting their pecuniary means in their endeavors to spread their principles. On the other hand, the Republicans of America are, most of them in easy circumstances, and many of them rich; and therefore, they should be constantly sending moneys to their European brothers to help scatter light and truth where amidst the darkness begotten of despotism, light and truth are so much needed. We ought to send you at least fifty to a thousand dollars a year; and, had we enough of the true spirit of Republicanism we would send you twice as much. I suppose that we early American abolitionists expended for many years in sustaining anti-Slavery lecturers and presses more than a hundred thousand dollars a year. But we were only a handful compared with the vast numbers here who feel interested in the spread of Republican doctrines.

I am pleased with the plan, as I understand it from your letter, which you have submitted to the New York Committee. I presume that the Committee will soon communicate with me in regard to it. I shall be glad to give money in aid of it. I judge from some things I have seen in your writings that you reject the Theologies. But for them Republicanism, which is so natural and reasonable, would rapidly extend over the Earth. Their tendency is to make men unreasonable and unnatural. I long ago gave up the Theologies, but I trust that I have not thereby lost any of my interest in that simple religion of nature and reason taught by Christ. My family join me in affectionate remembrances to Mr. Bulewski.

God preserve and bless you, With the highest regard, Your friend,
GERRIT SMITH.

3. MAZZINI TO SMITH.

Nov. 5. [1866], 18 FULHAM ROAD. S. W., [LONDON].

My dear Sir:

I come back from a three months journey to Switzerland and Italy and find such an arrear of work to be done that I have no time to write you as I should wish. But I avail myself of the opportunity of my friend Mr. Linton⁵ leaving for the U. S. to tell you that I am very grateful to you for your kind good friendly letter, that I have read "the Theologies", that I should feel ready to sign almost every thing you say there

⁵ Mr. W. J. Linton seems to have been sent to America by Mazzini in the interests of the Republican Alliance.

and that I value above all the frank fearless way in which you state what you believe or disbelieve in.⁶

Mr. Linton, whom I beg to introduce to you, will inform you of our actual views and prospects. As far as our Alliance is concerned, I feel disheartened at the prolonged silence of the two committees. I have never had an answer to my proposals. I regret it for both your selves and ours. To use material help such as that you speak of would now be of the highest importance; to yourselves, the practical positive organization of the Alliance would be the initiation of a high noble task, the fulfilment of which would strengthen you and conserve, as it were, over the internal struggle through which you now must go.

Do what you can in the right direction and believe me, my Dear Sir, ever faithfully yours,

JOS. MAZZINI.⁷

4. SMITH TO MAZZINI.⁸

PETERBORO, STATE OF NEW YORK, U. S. A., January 18 1867

JOSEPH MAZZINI,

Dear friend of God and Man,

Your Paper on "The Republican Alliance" written for the February No. of the Atlantic Monthly I have just finished reading.⁹ It has warmed my heart anew with love for real Republicanism and with love for the uncompromising religion taught by Jesus Christ. Thousands will be influenced by it in the way I have been. It will reach millions and more thus by its inspiring words.

I do not know that the gentlemen of New York and Boston with whom Mr. Bulewski communicated are taking any further steps in the great and good work which he set before them.¹⁰ I can easily conceive in how great need of money for spreading sound principles you and your associates are. Even the little that a single individual can do for you may be quite welcome. So I send a friend in N. York five hundred dollars (\$500) and ask him to purchase with it a Bill on London and to mail this letter after he shall have put the Bill in it.

It is not certain that my poor Slaving and . . .¹¹ country will speedily reach a pure Republicanism. Nevertheless her tendency is, of late, becoming stronger. We began our national existence with the words: "All men are created equal." Alas, how reluctant we have been and still are to translate these into deeds!

I wish you would write me a letter however short that I might publish. I mean a letter in which you will tell my country (and no other man can tell it with so much authority and effect) how much the . . .¹² on the part of Americans are examples of pure Republicanism.

⁶ Here Mazzini is referring to Smith's statement in his letter of Aug. 26, 1866.

⁷ This letter was addressed to Gerrit Smith and was entrusted to Mr. Linton, who gave it to Mr. Smith at a later date.

⁸ Draft.

⁹ This article is to be found in the *Atlantic Monthly*, XIX. 235-245. See also another article by Mazzini, "The Religious Side of the Italian Question", in *Atlantic Monthly*, XX. 108-120.

¹⁰ No letter from Mazzini's friends in either Boston or New York has as yet been found.

¹¹ Not legible in the original.

¹² The original is not clear; the words left out may possibly be "untiring work".

With affectionate regards for yourself, Mr. Bulewski and all your London circle of exiled heroes,

I subscribe myself, Your friend,
GERRIT SMITH.

5. J. COCHRANE TO GERRIT SMITH.¹³

NEW YORK, Jan. 22nd 1867

My Dear Uncle,

Yours enclosing check of \$500 for Mazzini is recd. I procure a Bill to his order on London. And mail it to day—I give you the statement.

.....
Your aff. Nephew
JOHN COCHRANE.
over

P.S. I send the first of the series to Mazzini and return you the second and third to use in case of loss of the first

J C

The check purchased the amount 75 £ Sterling—

6. MAZZINI TO SMITH.¹⁴

My dear friend,

I have been from day to day delaying my answering you and acknowledging your very liberal gift of £ St. 75 to our cause, hoping to find time for a letter such as you ask to your countrymen. I cannot write it now, and will not delay any more sending a few words of gracefulness. I shall certainly write and send a letter for publication in a few days; you may reckon on it. But I am overwhelmed with work and threatened with sickness and other ominous symptoms when I write too much.

I fancy your spontaneous gift will bring good luck to my plans. I feel deeply grateful not only for the money which is most useful, but for the spirit in which it is given and for the good loving . . .¹⁵ words which accompany it. Bless you.

I am absorbed in our actual crisis and in the Roman question. I hope that, with God's help, we shall solve it in a way beneficial not only to ourselves but to mankind. Ever faithfully yours,

JOSEPH MAZZINI.

18 FULHAM ROAD. S.W. [LONDON], Febr. 21-67

7. W. J. LINTON TO GERRIT SMITH.

181 EAST NINTH ST., NEW YORK, March 12/67

GERRIT SMITH Esq.

Dear Sir,

I have to thank you for your kind letter to which I should have replied sooner, but waited, dependent upon other persons, to know when it might be possible for me to get to you. A personal conference, if you will allow it, is I think necessary for carrying out my friend's objects; and I shall feel very grateful if I may be permitted to visit you, if that

¹³ The following appears in a short letter from Mr. J. Cochrane to his uncle Gerrit Smith.

¹⁴ This letter is in the handwriting of Mazzini.

¹⁵ Not legible in the original.

may be convenient to you some time in the week after next, provided you are not in New York before then.

Meanwhile I enclose Mazzini's letter; with such explanation as may be here given (for which I beg your most generous reception) of the delay in tendering it to you.

When I reached New York at the close of last year, I found it would be impossible for me to reach the gentlemen who in the earlier part of the year had responded to Mazzini's appeal through M. Bulewski. I found it impossible to reach them partly on account of distances and weather, partly on account of want of funds for travelling expenses. I found also from inquiry among some few friends of Mazzini here, that nothing had been done since Bulewski left; and that if I wished to succeed it would be necessary for me to be very patient and persevering and to lay my account to having to wait long for any considerable result. It became therefore indispensable for me, in the first instance to establish myself here with some care for my own maintenance, in order that I might have even standing ground upon which to begin the work. These things detaining me here, I took further counsel with the same friends and decided with their concurrence to make what preliminary efforts were possible in New York and then report such beginning to the friends elsewhere and request their approval and cooperation.

The action we have taken so far is shown by the papers I have the honor of forwarding with this.¹⁶ Our purpose is quietly to enroll names, and as soon as we number enough to ensure a good public meeting then to publicly organize the association. We are, I think, steadily, however slowly, progressing toward this and I trust that the beginning based on the good sympathies expressed by yourself and others last year, may now be said to be really made.

My object in seeing you is to discuss with you more fully than is possible by letter the likelihoods and advisabilities of the movement and to persuade you, if persuasion be needed (knowing as I do your liberal feeling) to aid the movement in whatever way you may deem best. I will have something also to say with personal reference to Mazzini himself. The movement, I am well aware, involves long and hard labor; but speaking for the European Committee, I trust we may count upon the best men in America to carry it on to success.

If after this attempt at explanation you still find reason to think that I have acted with perhaps not sufficient deference to yourself and others the first sympathizers unto and responders to the European appeal, I pray you for the cause' sake, for which only I labor, that you will pardon me, and not let the great object lose through my most unintentional offense.

Begging you also to forgive this lengthy intrusion on your time, and again thanking you for your letter, I am Sir,

With much respect

Very faithfully yours,

W. J. LINTON.

8. W. J. LINTON TO GERRIT SMITH.

181, EAST NINTH ST., NEW YORK, May 18/67

GERRIT SMITH Esq.

My dear Sir,

Business utterly beyond my own controul has detained me here and prevents me seeing you up to this time. I leave for England on the 1st of

¹⁶ These papers appear as the last two documents in this selection.

June; but I cannot leave without seeing you (if I may still be allowed to do so); for I want to know you personally and thank you for your courtesy toward me. I want also to report to you what beginnings I have made here toward the Republican Alliance and to have the benefit of your opinion and advice before I meet Mazzini. My own arrangements are small so that I shall be enabled to return here probably by the 1st of Sept: to resume and seriously prosecute the mission confided to me.

I propose, if quite suitable to your convenience, to take the boat to Albany on Wednesday night next, and the first train through to Canastota on Thursday morning. I think that leaves Albany at 9 and reaches Canastota at 3.30, the earlier train not going through.¹⁷

Will you favor me with a line to say if that will suit you, or if not, may I ask the further kindness of your naming another day.¹⁸ I will let no engagement interfere.

With very much respect, I am, dear Sir, Faithfully Yours

W. J. LINTON.

9. THE UNIVERSAL REPUBLIC.¹⁹

OBJECT OF THE ASSOCIATION

To maintain the right of every Country to a Republican Government and the consequent duty of all Republicans to unite for a
Solidarity of Republics.

FORM OF ORGANIZATION.

In order to give practical effect to the truths above asserted, it is proposed to unite in one body of enrolled members all liberal and free-thinking men of our time who desire to promote as far as lies in their power the recognition and development of true republicanism in all countries and among all peoples: the union so enrolled to be formed of distinct branches, each composed of the members of a separate nationality—American or European—so far as may be practicable.

These branches being kept distinct will stand as representative republics, while their delegates, forming a Central Council will represent the Solidarity of Republics, for the realization of which, in actual government, the association is pledged to labor.

MEANS OF EFFORT.—It is proposed to create a Fund for the UNIVERSAL REPUBLIC, from the contributions of its members, in the shape of enrollment fees, stated dues, and voluntary donations to the cause.

This Fund is to be used in defraying the expenses of printing, organizing agencies, and other means necessary for carrying out the object of the association. *All monies for European work shall be placed at the disposal of JOSEPH MAZZINI for the European Committee.*

CENTRAL COUNCIL.—The *Central Council* shall consist of a President, a Financial Secretary, a Recording Secretary, and as many other Secre-

¹⁷ Peterboro is about nine miles south of Canastota, which then, and today, was the closest railroad station on what is now the New York Central.

¹⁸ At the top of the letter in pencil there is written (not in Gerrit Smith's hand) the statement: "I write G.S. is absent."

¹⁹ This appeared on a small printed sheet evidently prepared in America by the friends of Mazzini.

taries as there shall be nationalities represented in the Council. Each Secretary so representing a Republic, whether of the present or the future, shall be the accredited organ of his branch and medium of communication with it, responsible for the enrollment of its members and for their obedience to the orders of the Central Council. Such Secretaries after the first year, shall be elected by the several branches.

The proceedings of the Central Council will be secret.

SUBORDINATE COUNCILS.—*Subordinate Councils* shall be established, and lists of all members enrolled in them reported to the Central Council in such manner as it shall direct.

REGULATIONS AND ORDERS.—All *General Regulations and Orders* shall emanate from the Central Council; but Subordinate Councils may make their own local rules.

AFFILIATION.—Any existing association, of whatever name, in schools, colleges, or communities, may become affiliated to the UNIVERSAL REPUBLIC, provided such association reports to the Central Council a list of its members, subscribes the profession of faith, and remits the enrollment dues.

SPECIAL AGENTS.—The Central Council may appoint *Special Agents* to transact any business needed to extend the organization and influence of the UNIVERSAL REPUBLIC.

PUBLICATIONS.—All *Publications* issuing from the UNIVERSAL REPUBLIC shall be printed under the authority of a Committee specially appointed for that purpose by the Central Council.

NEW YORK, U. S., January, 1867.

IO. THE UNIVERSAL REPUBLIC.²⁰

I believe in the REPUBLIC—the organization of a free people on the ground of equal political and social rights—as the only means through which a nation may be enabled to will and act, as one man, for the fulfilment of its own destiny and the accomplishment of its duty to Humanity;

And as I believe in the necessity of republican organization for a single nation in order that it may obtain its full growth and completeness, I am compelled to believe in the necessity of republican organization for all the nations of the world; so I believe in the solidarity of Humanity, the duty of nation toward nation, and the duty of every individual in every nation not only to his nation but to the world;

I believe, therefore, that it is the right and the bounden duty of every nation and of every man to aid to the utmost the striving of other nations or of other men toward the establishment of the Universal Republic;

And I pledge myself as a member of this Association to the best of my ability and means to aid in the propagation and practical realization of this my belief.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Address.</i>
GERRIT SMITH	Peterboro, State of New York

²⁰ This is printed on a page, about the size of this sheet, with spaces for ten names. Gerrit Smith's name is the only one on this page which evidently was never forwarded to any official of the Universal Republic.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

Science et Philosophie de l'Histoire. Par HENRI SÉE. (Paris: Felix Alcan. 1928. Pp. 513. 25 fr.)

THIS volume is an unusually happy combination of the analytical and historical points of view. There is sufficient emphasis upon the history of thought to afford an adequate grasp of the primary elements in the development of historical interpretation since the eighteenth century, but this historical material is primarily designed to bring out the dominant issues in the analytical problem. In Hegel, the metaphysical tendencies reach their height and the limitations of the point of view are discussed in that connection. Comte is studied as the representative of the extreme scientific view, and the conclusion is reached that history must always be something more than a science, though it obviously contains many problems that call for rational explanation by scientific methods. Sée finds the safest guide to historical interpretation in the critical philosophy of Cournot, which combines elements of philosophical and scientific methods. History can not emancipate itself from dependence upon valuations and judgments which are elaborated by a critical philosophy. Sheer empiricism must be guided by some philosophy of life, if it is to rise above the level of laborious erudition capable of achieving significant results only by chance. On the other hand, speculation about historical events and phenomena will be sterile unless it is intimately cognizant of some substantial mass of concrete data.

Professor Sée points out that sciences need not necessarily be concerned with the formulation of precise laws to be used in predicting phenomena, although some of the sciences proceed by such methods. Science has also the task of explaining and rationalizing phenomena even when prediction is not involved, and when the explanation is achieved by the use of critical methods that do not use generalizations sufficiently categorical to be described as laws. This phase of Professor Sée's position is based largely upon Meyerson's *Explication dans les Sciences*. The impression remains that sciences of laws are of a higher order than sciences which must needs be content to explain particular phenomena, though this would not be an inevitable conclusion.

Herein lies the primary critical problem of doctrine. The time is certainly approaching for a recognition of the equal status of the two groups of sciences: the sciences of laws, which are concerned with space and spatialized phenomena; the genetic sciences, concerned with the explanation and rationalization of the processes of growth and development that take place in periods of time. There must needs be differences

(787)

of procedure, but there can be no difference in their status as sciences, nor any discrimination in respect of the significance of their results. If this position is strongly taken, the valuation of Comte's work would be somewhat different. Philosophy itself would become a branch of inquiry dominated by scientific realism, rather than a discipline with distinctive methods and aims. But these matters turn upon modest differences of emphasis, and Professor Sée's view will undoubtedly meet with less resistance among historians today than the more extreme position. His work should contribute signally to more general recognition of the need of systematic study of these general problems of history.

Much emphasis is placed upon the significance to the historian of the comparative method, and though this discussion might well have been developed on a somewhat larger scale, it constitutes a genuine contribution as it stands. Many of the details are necessarily sacrificed, as Professor Sée does not attempt to discuss the specific problems of the various phases of history, and many distinctive elements of methodology appear only when the special needs of particular classes of material are considered.

In addition to the series of essays concerned with systematic analysis of the general problems of history, the volume contains a number of essays which have appeared in reviews. There are studies on periodization, on specialization and synthesis, the relation of the Puritans to the rise of capitalism, on Michelet, Renan, Taine, Anatole France, Kropotkin, and Jean Jaurès. Some of these essays make a signal contribution to the general thesis of the volume. The criticism of Troeltsch on periodization is especially interesting, and the essays on Michelet and Renan will be illuminating to any readers who have supposed that the concept of "social" history is a contemporary innovation.

ABBOTT PAYSON USHER.

The Collected Papers of Paul Vinogradoff. With a memoir by the Right Hon. H. A. L. FISHER. Two volumes. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1928. Pp. viii, 326; viii, 509. 42 s.)

THE papers are gathered from periodicals and volumes in various languages, and represent many of his interests; but there is none on Russia, which he so greatly loved, and nothing which shows his exertions in improving the quality of teaching in Russian schools.

He was always interested in teaching and especially in training investigators. In one of his early papers, "Oxford and Cambridge through Foreign Spectacles", he wrote, "even granted the whole of the academic system as it now is, could it not be supplemented by a school for research engrafted upon it? And would it be prejudicial to university life to bring it into closer contact with real investigation?" When he was called to Oxford eighteen years later he promptly set to work. In 1906, in a private letter, a Rhodes scholar described the new spirit in historical studies which he ascribed to the influence of Vinogradoff. The following

year Vinogradoff conducted a seminar at the University of Wisconsin. Although it lasted only a few weeks it was an event in the intellectual history of that university; a few picked students received both training and inspiration which were of lasting value. This brief, comparatively unimportant, episode in Vinogradoff's life is recalled because it illustrates two characteristics; this Russian adapted himself to the Middle-Western institution and fired the students with zeal. This was true wherever he went, as Fisher has shown in the memoir.

Every friend of Vinogradoff will be grateful to Fisher for this sketch which is written in the same spirit with which Vinogradoff wrote and spoke of his friends. If I may be pardoned a personal reminiscence, my first meeting with him was when he had just returned from H. F. Pelham's funeral. He expressed his feeling of personal loss and of the loss to Oxford, and gave an estimate of the value of Pelham's work and of his character, generous in praise, but not uncritical. The same is true of his papers on his friends, Maitland and Seeböhm, on Maine and Mitteis (all reprinted in these volumes). One omission which we regret is his obituary, in Russian, of Kovalevsky.

It would be folly to attempt an evaluation of the 46 papers here printed. Old favorites such as *Folkland* and *Wergeld und Stand* are included; a dozen of the masterly contributions of his last three years; two chapters from the unpublished third volume of his *Outlines of Historical Jurisprudence* for which we are especially grateful. Although we realized dimly the breadth of his knowledge and interests this collection of a small part only of his output brings an enhanced appreciation of the loss to the world of learning.

The bibliography includes 266 items and supplements the memoir, indicating subjects in which he was interested and movements which he furthered by his writings. Of especial interest are the items which show the work by others which he incited; such were the four volumes of the *Collection of Essays in Medieval History* (in Russian); the three volumes of the *Records of English Economic and Social History*; the nine volumes of *Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History*; the fifteen volumes of the Selden Society. There is no mention of the fact that the Russian series in the *Social and Economic History of the War* was planned by Vinogradoff and is now in process of publication "substantially as he planned it". The lists of public lectures and of reviews are not complete.

Most enduring of all his work is the inspiration which he gave to his students, which they, in turn, are transmitting to their students. "With all who came in contact with him Sir Paul Vinogradoff's memory will abide."

The Cambridge Ancient History. Edited by S. A. COOK, Litt.D., F. E. ADCOCK, M.A., and M. P. CHARLESWORTH, M.A. Volume VII., *The Hellenistic Monarchies and the Rise of Rome.* (Cambridge: the University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1928. Pp. xxxii, 988, and 4 plates. 37 s. 6 d. \$10.50.)

"DURING the period of history covered in this volume the Greeks continued for a long time to occupy the centre of the stage. The rôle they had to play was graver and more complicated than ever before. In the West they soon lost the initiative to Rome. All the time they were spreading themselves thinly over the East the Italians were being concentrated more and more completely and compactly under a single head. It would have been better for the political fortunes of the Greeks if the forces led by Alexander of Macedon into the East had supported Alexander of Epirus in Italy, and Hellas was destined to pay dearly for misdirecting thus its energy. So favourable a conjuncture for saving their western kinsmen was never to recur; and that not simply because of the marvellous growth of Roman power. . . . The East became the land of opportunity for the Greeks. It was 'manifest destiny' that they should possess it. And once they were committed to movement in that direction they could not draw back. No matter what happened in the West they had to hellenize the world in which the Macedonians had made them masters, or themselves go under." With these words Professor Ferguson in the first paragraph of his chapter, *The Leading Ideas of the New Period*, introduces us to the age of the Hellenistic monarchies. The reviewer would like to quote more at length from this excellent chapter, for it sounds the key-note of the volume. Its purpose is to show us the Hellenistic world into which the Romans were soon to enter; and Professor Ferguson sums up the future in a sentence which helps us to explain our ignorance of the eighty years after Ipsus. "Its science they [the Romans] did not understand; its art they did not feel; its mission they frustrated—and then undertook themselves."

The volume is divided between two major themes, the Hellenistic East and the growth of Rome in the West, with certain minor themes closely related to the events of the period. Mr. J. M. de Navarro (*The Coming of the Celts*) prepares us for the Gallic invasions of Italy and the appearance of the Gauls in the Balkan peninsula and Asia Minor. Dr. M. Cary's chapter on Agathocles is needed to fill gaps in the history of the West, not covered by the strictly Roman portions of the volume; and Professor A. Schulten's scholarly chapter on the Carthaginians in Spain makes the stage ready for the Second Punic War, with which volume VIII. will resume the thread of Roman history.

Volume VII. is particularly fortunate in being able to use the knowledge of specialists long known for their studies in the period. Professor Rostovtzeff's two chapters (Ptolemaic Egypt, Syria and the East) on the economic and political organization of the Lagid and Seleucid empires are an excellent illustration of the desire of the editors to select only the

best; and Mr. W. W. Tarn's familiarity with the intricate details of the international politics of the eastern Mediterranean made his services indispensable. His narrative begins with the years after Ipsus (The New Hellenistic Kingdoms) and carries us up to the point where Philip V. was ready to turn his attention toward Italy and Rome (Macedonia and Greece, The Struggle of Egypt against Syria and Macedonia, The Greek Leagues and Macedonia).

The reader is allowed to turn aside from dynastic rivalries and league politics to consider the intellectual life of Athens (C. F. Angus), Alexandrian literature (E. A. Barber), and Hellenistic science and mathematics (Dr. W. H. S. Jones and Sir Thomas L. Heath). There can be no doubt that we are in a new age, when Athens, vainly trying to maintain her self-respect, is famous only for the New Comedy and for her philosophers preaching resignation when rebellion is impossible, the Stoics with detachment as their goal and the Epicureans seeking peace at any price. Athens is now eager above all else to keep outside the current of life. To complete the picture one must mention that philosophic defense of absolutism, the doctrine of the *ἐμφυχὸς νόμος*, which was evolved to excuse the new monarchies in the eyes of all lovers of liberty. This was the age of Deification.

When we turn to Alexandria we find a multitude of prose writers whose works have perished, presumably because the multifarious demands upon prose as the ordinary means of expression rendered it so slovenly that it was not worth preserving (p. 249). Poetry was only a little more fortunate. The third century was too modern, whether compared with the preceding centuries or with our own age, ever to be regarded as classical. It combined meticulous scholarship, pedantic erudition, and amazing scientific discoveries with a flood of popular treatises which suggests the twentieth-century book trade. A reader uninstructed in science and mathematics has only to study the brief chapter on Hellenistic progress in these fields to understand how far from elementary was the scientific knowledge of this century.

The loss of the historical works is not hard to understand. Since they dealt with affairs in which Rome was not greatly interested at this time, they would make little appeal to later generations of Romans; and the picture of warring kings and leagues and city states was scarcely edifying to the Greeks themselves. But the disappearance of these works makes the historian's task difficult and perilous. Tarn's introductory paragraph (p. 76) warns the reader not to expect finality, particularly in chronological matters. His words had barely been printed when Professor Ferguson (*Class. Phil.*, XXIV. [1929] 1-31) proved that the affairs of Athens between Ipsus and the capture of the city by Demetrius Poliorcetes had been quite misunderstood. Moreover, an inscription recently found near the entrance of the Athenian Acropolis, dated in 292 B.C. (*A. J. A.*, XXXIII. 102), promises to bring fundamental changes in Athenian chronology between 300 and 100.

By checking through Tarn's chapters, one can readily estimate the immense debt which the historian of the third century owes to the study of epigraphy. Nearly every page contains one or more statements which are based on epigraphic records alone; and for the most part the records are uncited. One need not add that papyri are just as indispensable as the inscriptions. Considering the scattered nature of the sources and the complicated character of the events of the period, one can not praise too highly these chapters. If the reader, like the reviewer, occasionally becomes dizzy as he studies them, he will be the more ready to understand and to excuse the confusion which appears in the index, *e.g.*, under the heading Stratonice.

The Capitoline wolf on the cover of the volume may be taken as indicative of the importance of the chapters devoted to Rome. To Dr. H. Stuart Jones was assigned the difficult task of analyzing the sources for the tradition of early Roman history; and he shares with Mr. Hugh Last the chapters on Rome's career to the beginning of the fourth century. Chronologically these chapters might well have been included in the earlier volumes, but a desire not to interrupt the thread of Roman history is responsible for their postponement. The reader may be puzzled by the absence of chapters on the Etruscan and Italian neighbors of Rome, but these subjects were assigned to volume IV. In passing it may be noted that Mr. Last, in disagreement with Professor Conway in the earlier volume, sees in the non-Indo-European Etruscans descendants of the neolithic inhabitants of central Italy; and he believes that the natural resources of Etruria were mainly responsible for the fact that Etruria was the centre from which a knowledge of arts and crafts spread over the more backward parts of the peninsula. Nor does Dr. Jones accept Professor Conway's view that there was a racial difference between patricians and plebeians.

Again one notices the hesitant way in which the authors unravel the thread of the story; and one may become weary of the refrains "the explanation (or evidence) is still to seek", and "it would be rash to assert". One may note also a tendency for the writers to take for granted that the reader is well informed about the course of Roman history. To take two examples, the uninformed reader will be puzzled by enigmatic and anticipatory references to the *fædus Cassianum*, and should he attempt to refresh his memory by reference to the index, he will fail to find the *fædus* listed unless he looks for *Cassianum fædus*. Likewise, Mr. Last's excellent analysis of the historical value of the legends of the kings presupposes a knowledge of these legends.

In early Roman history there is abundant opportunity for captious criticism, if one were inclined to criticize everything with which one does not agree. So great a part does the subjective element play in all histories of this period. Both authors show a desire to sift and weigh the evidence, and the result is a reasoned presentation of their preferences when two or more interpretations are possible. The reviewer has long felt that the uncertainty of ancient history gives to its study an added

interest; and for that reason he welcomes a form of treatment which allows the reader to understand the problems. Exposition and narrative are of course retarded, but the thoughtful student will not complain. But when once the problem is stated and a solution is offered, the curious reader is left without clear guidance if he should wish to pursue the investigation further, for the bibliographies are not designed primarily to save the time of students desirous of information on specific questions. But this is inevitable, since the *Cambridge Ancient History* is committed to the policy of eliminating as many foot-notes as possible.

To return to our story, the French scholar Professor L. Homo describes the Gallic wars of Rome. Then Professor F. E. Adcock, turning aside from his editorial duties, gives us a critical account of the conquest of central Italy. From this point Professor Tenney Frank, with his customary clarity and scholarship, carries us on through the wars with Pyrrhus and Carthage to the outbreak of the war with Hannibal. His section on the Ebro treaty should be read as a corrective to Professor Schulten's pro-Punic analysis of it. Finally Professor M. Holleaux brings us back to the Balkan peninsula with his account of the Romans in Illyria.

The volume contains fourteen maps, a chronological table, genealogical trees for the Hellenistic monarchs, and the usual bibliographies and indexes. The 'Index of Passages Referred To' might well have included such inscriptions as the *Lex Coloniae Genitivae Juliae* and the *Lex Acilia Repetundarum*, both of which are quoted (pp. 430 n., 420). Three chronological notes on the first treaty between Rome and Carthage and the battles of Cos and Sellasia seek to justify the dates for these events given in the text. In conclusion, the volume unquestionably ranks with the best of its predecessors.

ALLEN B. WEST.

Histoire Ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord. Par STÉPHANE GSELL, Professeur au Collège de France. Tome VII., *La République Romaine et les Rois Indigènes*; Tome VIII., *Jules César et l'Afrique, Fin des Royaumes Indigènes*. (Paris: Hachette. 1929. Pp. 312, 306. 45 fr. each.)

THE brightness of authentic record illumines but faintly the first century of Roman rule in the African lands once held by Carthage. A mutilated section of an agrarian law, an uneven and rhetorical account of the struggle with Jugurtha, three Latin inscriptions, and a few incidental references in classical literature form the basis of the seventh instalment of M. Gsell's monumental work. It begins with the typical chapters of "the History of Any Roman Province", provincial organization (pp. 1-37), a classification of the inhabitants (pp. 37-73), and of the land (pp. 74-98), followed by a synthesis of the social, economic, and cultural aspects of the province (pp. 98-122). There is something so canonical about this form of presentation that one would expect to find

it dull. But the author has an enthusiasm and skill great enough to make the usual and formal appear attractive.

The digressive introduction on the origin and use of the term Africa, in which evidence is presented, hypotheses are examined, and conclusions drawn with clarity and moderation, gives the tone of the entire volume. Many of the more striking generalizations of other modern scholars are quietly sentenced and calmly executed by the author. We read, for example, that there was little public land left in the original province when Caesar entered it (p. 91); that there were few large private holdings (pp. 92-94); that there is little evidence of large slave gangs (p. 97); that the industrial activity of Carthage was not taken over by Utica (p. 106); and that the Romanization of the province during this period was almost negligible (p. 115).

In the sandy waste of lacunae dotted with mirage-like fancies and opinions, the Jugurtha of Sallust has the outward appearance of solidity and refuge. M. Gsell examines this document with more vigor and with less mercy than he is wont to display in his treatment of more recent reconstructions. His account (pp. 125-262) is at once a thorough and independent piece of research. The author does not hesitate to cross the boundaries of Africa Vetus when his subject carries him beyond its limits. He interprets his province as the war and assumes the right, if not the duty, to visit Spain, Gaul, northern Italy, and Rome, wherever, in fact, the causes or results of the campaign have left a record. The independence of his work appears clearly in the foot-notes. One reference to Boissier, one to Pais, two to Schulten (both from the Numantia) represent, if they do not quite complete the list of citations of recent historiography. In this section, too, one notes the restraint, the careful division of fact and of fancy, the modest and tentative presentation of new hypotheses.

From the viewpoint of pure technique the most successful work of the author appears in the concluding chapter. With a prefatory warning that we know almost nothing concerning events in Africa for the more than fifty years between Marius and Caesar, M. Gsell devotes thirty pages to a lucid discussion of "almost nothing".

The period covered by the eighth volume, from 49 B.C to 42 A.D., begins with the confusion of civil war and ends with the acceptance by Rome of direct control of all Mediterranean Africa. The ill-fated campaign of Curio and the successful one of Caesar are described in detail sufficient to take up one-half of the volume. In fact Cato Uticensis departs this life and is buried in its geographical centre.

It was unfortunate for Africa that Caesar came to her so late in the brief period of his sole rule. M. Gsell presents the evidence, indefinite and incomplete, of Caesar's reconstruction. It was the work of a harried and hurried administrator. A new province was blocked out, a few new colonies (perhaps only two) were led out to the old province, and plans were drawn up for the refoundation of Carthage. The Ides of March did not alter these beginnings, but Caesar's death undoubtedly postponed

the rapid Romanization of Africa, and permitted the writing of one more chapter in the history of the native kingdoms. It is to this interesting phase of North African history that the author devotes the second part of his volume.

The annals of the years 44–27 B.C. (pp. 183–205) give to Africa her due share of the civil strife which convulsed the entire empire. They also afford an illustration of the methods of Augustus the Compromiser. From 33 B.C. to 25 B.C. Mauretania was without a king. Augustus did not make it a province, although he assigned to it a large number of veteran colonies. The final decision, made in 25 B.C., was to establish a kingdom of Mauretania under Juba II., one of the strangest characters in Roman history.

M. Gsell discusses the career of Juba both as ruler (pp. 206–250) and as writer (pp. 251–278). Most significant of his public acts was his marriage with Cleopatra's daughter, since it gave to the Mauretanians a queen who exercised sovereign power. We do not know to what extent she was responsible for the Hellenistic leanings of her husband. In any event Caius Julius Juba did not forget Rome nor his patron Augustus. The name of his capital, Caesarea, and the foundation of an imperial cult centre bear witness to his loyalty. To M. Gsell most striking of all his characteristics is the cosmopolitanism of this king; "numide par sa naissance, punique par la force d'attraction que, pendant des siècles, Carthage avait exercée sur sa race, romain par ses années d'enfance et de jeunesse passées dans la capitale du monde, par les attaches d'intérêt et de reconnaissance qui le liaient à Auguste, grec par son éducation et ses goûts artistiques et littéraires, égyptien grécisé par son mariage" (p. 236).

The complex of inherited and acquired characteristics was too intricate for the intellectual powers of its possessor. He tried his hand at philology, geography, zoölogy, botany, mythology, history, archaeology, painting, and the theatre. An examination of the fragments from his numerous works causes our author but slight regret for the loss of the originals.

The final chapter relates the events of the weak and colorless reign of Juba's son, Ptolemy. With the death of Ptolemy, slain by the orders of his cousin, Caligula, came the end of the last native kingdom. At that point M. Gsell leaves us waiting hopefully for a volume on the work of Augustus and his successors.

The reader of any one of M. Gsell's volumes soon comes to acquire a feeling of trustfulness, a confidence which is given alone to the master of his subject. There is no haste, no omission, no sacrifice of clarity for brevity's sake. Facts, probabilities, and possibilities are all presented, woven together to form a story which is fundamentally human. In M. Gsell's pages the past lives once more. It was therefore with no small self-congratulation that the reviewer resisted the charm of the story to the extent of discovering two errors in this volume, [a]ucune on page 160 and Arn[i]ensis on page 202.

J. J. VAN NOSTRAND.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Medieval Foundations of Western Civilization. By GEORGE C. SELLERY, Dean of the College of Letters and Sciences and Professor of History, University of Wisconsin, and A. C. KREY, Professor of History, University of Minnesota. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1929. Pp. xiv, 633. \$3.50.)

HERE is another of the books which aim to "tell something about everything", in this case over a period of thirteen centuries. As to the wisdom of such undertakings there is room for a wide variety of opinion. There can be no doubt that they are "called for", in other words, that the makers of school and college programmes find them convenient for their purposes and that wide-awake publishers see profit in coöperating with willing authors to their mutual advantage. If it is true that there is no more fatal error in the teaching of history than the attempt to "cover the ground", then it would seem to follow that the same effort is equally misplaced in the writing of books intended for use in teaching. The obvious danger in this kind of writing is the lack of perspective, the failure to bring out the high lights, to show the difference between the important and the unimportant, the almost dead level of style—if indeed one can fairly speak of style at all in this connection.

The question is then, not whether books of this type shall be written; that is settled. They will be written. The only reasonable inquiry in the given case is whether the work is well done. The present volume "covers" the period from the breaking of the Roman frontier in 378 to the end of the seventeenth century, and includes the widest possible range of territory. The title might lead one to expect a series of dissertations upon origins and their working out into the permanent institutions of Western life. Instead of this we find a continuous narrative written in a direct, straightforward style, without attempt at ornamentation but enlivened by occasional colloquialisms and modern analogies.

The authors are teachers of long experience familiar with the needs of the class-room as they see them and keeping these needs in mind at every stage of their work. There is abundant evidence that they have read widely and have appropriated the results of critical scholarship. Their conclusions are expressed briefly and moderately. It is not likely that any form of religious or national or social faith will be seriously offended by any of their utterances. The work is carefully done, and the suppression of all show of learned apparatus is altogether commendable.

What we miss more than anything else is adequate reference to original material. If we were in our student days again we would gladly sacrifice pages of this easy narrative for a few passages of Gregory of Tours, a few quotations from the Saxon chroniclers or from the spicy correspondence of King Henry IV. and Gregory VII., the magnificent proclamations of Innocent III. and Boniface VIII., the searching criti-

cism of Marsiglio of Padua, or the sledge-hammer blows of Martin Luther. These are the things that bring the mind of the student into direct and thrilling contact with the real "foundations". This criticism applies especially to the treatment of the intellectual and artistic side of the story. The authors have evidently read and appropriated technical appreciations of the masterpieces of literature and the other arts, but would the pupil for whom the book is intended gain from it an adequate comprehension of their meaning? On the other hand it may well be said that the book is not meant to meet any such demand, but rather to stimulate an interest which will lead to the study of more detailed presentations. The authors would doubtless welcome this result above any other form of success; for this is the teacher's highest reward: that his own work be absorbed into the larger gains of specialized study. Guidance into this larger field is furnished by the extended bibliographies arranged to accompany the several chapters but grouped together at the end of the book.

A word as to the maps, eighteen in number, which seem to be rather a novelty in their method. The use of colors is entirely discarded. The divisions of territory are indicated by a system of dots and hatchings, clear enough when one has mastered the explanatory guides, but not meeting the eye at once like the traditional contrasting colors. Great movements, such as the crusades and the voyages of discovery, are shown by variously broken lines and arrows, which answer fairly well in open spaces but produce a confusing effect when they are crowded together. Almost too ingenious is the map showing the barbarian penetration of the fifth century by a system of lines radiating from the points, sometimes of starting, sometimes of settlement.

We do not hesitate to recommend this book in the words of—was it Abraham Lincoln?—"if you want this kind of thing this is just the kind of thing you want".

E. EMERTON.

Founders of the Middle Ages. By EDWARD KENNARD RAND, Professor of Latin in Harvard University. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1928. Pp. xii, 366. \$4.00.)

THIS volume comprises eight lectures delivered before the Lowell Institute of Boston in 1928. In the preface the author states that they are here printed substantially as then delivered, with only slight additions and rearrangement. This probably accounts for certain repetitions and emphases which occasionally surprise the reader. In the first two lectures is posed the main thesis of the book, the appropriation of pagan classical culture by the Church through her spokesmen of the third to the sixth century. Then follow chapters on Ambrose the Mystic, Jerome the Humanist, Boëthius the Scholastic, The New Poetry, The New Education, and St. Augustine and Dante. The titles of the chapters are happily chosen; they indicate in marked degree the subject-matter of the

book and the point of view of the author. It will be noted also that they impose distinct limitations. Not all the "founders" are discussed, nor are all aspects of the thought of those treated equally emphasized. The Greek Fathers of the Church as a whole are excluded, while philosophy and theology are given only scant space. Furthermore, the author concerns himself "merely with that aspect of [Christian apologetics] which presents a programme of reconciliation, an attempt to solve the problem of what to do with Pagan culture in the light of the new faith" (p. 38).

The main burden of the book is, then, to show that through these men, whom the author chooses to call founders of the Middle Ages, much of what was best in classical thought and expression was woven into the warp and the woof of Christian thought and Christian feeling. The Fathers of the Church knew the pagan classics and wrote for an audience that was still familiar with them. Himself an accomplished classical scholar, the author finds that Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine, Prudentius, to mention only outstanding examples, were steeped in the thought and the spirit of pagan authors. With the thought of Cicero, especially, they were familiar, and through him with Plato, though they knew well their Virgil also.

The author's judgments rest upon thorough familiarity with the works of the early Christian writers, and his writing therefore possesses a freshness and vigor which comes only from such acquaintance. But he would doubtless be the first to disclaim anything particularly novel, either in subject-matter or viewpoint, in his volume. Controversial material there is in plenty, but the author finds himself in agreement with a substantial element of the modern students of the period. His contribution lies rather in the drawing together—and this is especially true of the chapter on education—of material which is widely scattered and therefore difficult of access to the more general reader. To the reviewer the characterization of Augustine as the bridge between Cicero and Dante seems the most original and stimulating part of the book.

Another welcome quality of the book is its author's ability sympathetically to meet on their own ground the characters whom he depicts, to throw himself understandingly into the situations which they had to face. This is no morphological study of a dead past. Indeed, his sympathy for his subject and despite for the "higher criticism" which, in his judgment, would warp the period and emasculate its characters, leads him to constantly iterated thrusts at such critics, whom he compares to Euhemerus (pp. 56-57). He finds that much of their destructive criticism, onion peeling as he calls it, is occasioned by the inability of a small mind to comprehend all the breadth and depth of a large one.

Constant witticism at the expense of the critics probably went very well before an audience, when there was a considerable period between the various lectures. In a published book where it is all spread out before the reader it comes to seem rather over-done, even to one who agrees with it. In reading the book one suspects that perhaps after all its chief aim is to satirize certain modern tendencies in scholarship and

education. In at least one place the author's disgust of modern criticism leads him to twist the thought of one of his contemporaries. On page 125 he makes Kirsopp Lake "declare that a departure from orthodoxy is always in the direction of truth", when what that author really says is "that a nearer approach to truth is always a departure from orthodoxy" (cf. note 40, p. 307)—which is quite another story.

Hypothesis and "onion peeling" are constantly decried, but the author seems to employ a certain amount of both when it is to the credit of "the Founders"; e.g., the explanation of the legendary in Jerome (pp. 123-124), the waiving of the charges preferred against Boëthius (p. 159; though on p. 179 one gathers that there may have been some truth in them); the hypothesis regarding the discussions of the liberal arts accessible to Cicero (p. 226), or the suggestion that Falconia Proba "smiled" at her own patchwork of Virgil (p. 201). The author makes no assertions, but his deft insinuations are perhaps more effective in wooing the mind of the reader than would be more positive statement. His definition of humanism is so all-inclusive that it hardly appears to be descriptive of a group. It seems to indicate an ideal rather than a real, or even possible, embodiment. His comparison of Gregory I. with President Eliot of Harvard will probably impress many as fanciful and hardly to the point; to some his praise of the poetry of Prudentius may seem to come from the heart rather than the head.

But there is no reason for the reviewer to play the carping critic. The book is not to be judged on the basis of this or that statement with which one may disagree. Thoughtful, beautifully written, with a fine mingling of humor and sarcasm, whimsical and urbane, it is a work of popularization by a ripe scholar who has, by long carrying of the burden in the heat of the day, won the right to speak. Dr. Rand has proved once again that even the modern humanist can write a book that the uninitiated layman will enjoy reading, a quality which he ascribes to the "humanists" of whom he wrote.

AUSTIN P. EVANS.

La Berbérie Orientale sous la Dynastie des Benoû'l-Arlab, 800-909.

Par M. VONDERHEYDEN, Docteur ès-Lettres. (Paris: Geuthner. 1927. Pp. 331. 75 fr.)

THIS title may suggest little to the general historian, but the obscure dynasty here treated was one of the pivot-points of history in the long conflict between the Asiatic and the European civilizations. It has, of course, been a major puzzle how in so short a time North Africa, outwardly speaking Latin and thinking Roman *mores* and Christian religion, passed over into North Africa, speaking Arabic and thinking Arab *mores* and the Muslim faith; how the environment of Apuleius and St. Augustine was completely transformed into one of Muslim warriors, theologians, canonists, devotees, speaking nothing but Arabic and forming a population more entirely Muslim than anywhere else except, perhaps.

Arabia itself. The one thing left over from Rome seems to have been the ability to produce buildings of solid, well-cut stone; but the art was that of Iraq.

In the dynasty of the Aghlabids, an Arab family beginning as vassals of the 'Abbasids but very quickly shaking themselves free, we see in the course of little more than a century that transformation carrying itself out. For it seems to have worked of itself. Latin North Africa collapsed like a card-house and the only real opposition came, and continued to come, from the old, unsubdued Berber tribes. And that opposition took the form, not of anything genuinely native, but of heretical and schismatic semi-Muslim sects. The new faith had so much vitality as to produce its own opponents. The whole process can be read in lucid and accurate *précis* in Stanley Lane-Poole's "Mohammadan Dynasties" (pp. 33-39). But in this book we have it for the first time in detail as brought out in a study of this one, pivotal, dynasty. Its seat was what we now call Tunis and Tunis had been Carthage. In contrast to this heathen antiquity there had arisen in the desert a new and purely Muslim city, Qairawan, destined to be one of the Holy Cities of Islam ranking after Jerusalem. But Tunis on the sea held its own, and from it the Aghlabids dominated in their century of power the mid-Mediterranean as Carthage had done before, and even, for a time, ruled Sicily. Thus Tunis was the City of Africa (Ifriqiya) and, in romance, was the "home-town" of the "African" magician of our old friend Aladdin. When the Aghlabids fell of their own corruption and before the attacks of the Shi'ite Fatimids the city became al-Mahdiya, but since Turkish times it has been the Beylic of Tunis, although controlled by France since 1881, and now a centre of Bolshevik intrigue.

This study of the formative century of development under the Aghlabids divides into an introduction and conclusion with nine chapters between. A statement of these chapters will show the drift of the whole: (1) the constitutional relations of the Aghlabid rulers ("emirs" they were called) to the 'Abbasid caliphate; (2) the indigenous populations; (3) the original Arab invaders; (4) the theologians, canonists, religious leaders of the Muslims—these are called "gens de science" but the "science" was purely theological; (5) the functionaries of the state, court, military, legal, religious, provincial; (6) the emirs and their immediate entourage and private life—a series of descriptions of them as individuals; (7) their domestic policies and the economic situation of the country under them, financial and religious, their growing unpopularity; (8) their foreign politics—their relations with their neighbors; (9) the Shi'ite invasion from the West and the fall of the Aghlabids. All this is well and clearly handled with a full use of the Arabic and European sources. Very curiously there is no mention either of Lane-Poole's golden book or of the still fuller *Manuel de Généalogie et de Chronologie* by E. de Zambour or of Sachau's *Verzeichniss Muhammedanischer Dynastien*, a supplement to Lane-Poole. Yet all these give

details on the Aghlabids in Tunis and Sicily and the first two are based on the coins, the only sure basis in such matters that there is.

D. B. MACDONALD.

Geschichte des Deutschen Strafrechts bis zur Karolina. Von RUDOLF HIS. [Handbuch der Mittelalterlichen und Neueren Geschichte, herausgegeben von G. von Below, F. Meinecke, und A. Brackmann.] (Munich and Berlin: R. Oldenbourg. 1928. Pp. xv, 188. 9 M.)

PRIOR to the appearance of the present work, the most recent authentic compendium on the evolution of German penal law was that of Carl Ludwig von Bar,¹ published in 1882. Subsequent scholarly activity in this field has been assiduous and it was high time to incorporate the accumulating results in a fresh general survey. In the volume before us this difficult task has been essayed for the period extending to the enactment, in 1532, of the comprehensive imperial statute known as *Karolina*. Professor His divides his discussion into three parts: (1) the misdeed (pp. 1-46), (2) the consequences of the misdeed (pp. 47-105), and (3) specific crimes (pp. 106-180). The first two parts form a succinct yet luminous history of Germanic criminal law in general, and they reveal a comprehensive grasp of the legal ideas and penal methods which obtained in the period under view. The third part recounts, in most instances with gratifying fullness of illustration, the evolution in definition and treatment of the specific crimes. Unlike the work of von Bar, this manual does not include a survey of modern German criminal law, nor does it attempt to summarize the development of the penal law either of Rome or of the Christian Church. With a single proviso it may be said that the author strictly confines his discussion to the field designated in the title. The proviso is that the word *Deutschen* in the title must be understood to mean "Germanic" or "Teutonic" rather than "German" in the narrow sense. In the field which it comprehends this work unquestionably supersedes that of von Bar; for besides embodying the net achievements of the last forty-five years of research, it is broader in scope, more intensive in treatment, characterized by greater exactness in detail and definition. Also, in the judgment of the reviewer, it is less opinionated. Professor His takes into account variations in legal development not only among the "stems" of Germany proper but among all branches of the Germanic racial stock. The author's mastery of sources is evinced not least by his profuse collation of legal terms in the old and middle forms of the several Germanic tongues. Nor is he ignorant of the influence of Roman and canon law and of Italian jurisprudence upon the development of Germanic law. The reviewer finds

¹ *Geschichte des Deutschen Strafrechts und der Strafrechtstheorien*, issued as the first volume (the only one published) of a projected *Handbuch des Deutschen Strafrechts*. Except one section, this work has been translated in full into English and forms the major part of the sixth volume in the Continental Legal History Series.

little occasion for adverse criticism. It is true that the documentation does not include detailed references to the sources, but this omission was required by the plan of the series in which the volume appears. Moreover, some compensation is made by very copious citation of authorities; the general bibliography, quite comprehensive in itself, is heavily supplemented by special bibliographies for the several sections. One wonders somewhat why no special bibliography was offered on the falsification of coins and precious metals, and it may be submitted that the treatment of these subjects seems comparatively scant. The index has been compiled with care and is reasonably adequate. For *Kulturgeschichte* no less than for the history of law this book has positive and direct value; it is a contribution which no serious student of Medieval civilization can afford to neglect.

EINAR JORANSON.

The Sheriff Court Book of Fife, 1515-1522. Edited by WILLIAM CROFT DICKINSON, M.A., Ph.D. [Publications of the Scottish History Society, Third Series, vol. XII.] (Edinburgh: the Society. 1928. Pp. cvi, 440.)

MEDIEVAL administration in Scotland is still awaiting its historian. It seemed likely that administration in England would be left similarly neglected by reason of what often seems a superabundance of record material, but Dr. T. F. Tout's undaunted labors have done much to remove this reproach. In Scotland, however, the difficulty has always been the paucity of evidence, for the national records have suffered severely not merely from the usual havoc of fire, flood, and indifference, but also from the vicissitudes which befell them when they were taken south by Edward I. and Oliver Cromwell. Consequently, the motto, *colligite fragmenta ne pereant*, which the Scottish History Society has adopted to describe the work to which it has devoted itself for more than forty years, is peculiarly apt; and this study by Dr. Dickinson of one aspect of Scottish administration indicates how industry combined with skill can surmount initial obstacles. For although the office of sheriff was introduced in the early twelfth century and the establishment of sheriff courts followed almost immediately, yet the earliest extant sheriff court-book comes from the years 1503-1511. It is known that similar records went back much earlier but, as in England, they seem never to have been returned into official custody but remained in private hands to meet all the dangers that that involved. It is perhaps not too much to hope that the labors of the Historical Manuscripts Commission may bring to light invaluable material at present lying buried in private collections which have not yet been properly calendared.

Until then Dr. Dickinson's book will remain the final authority on the history of the Medieval sheriffdom in Scotland. For though the text he has edited with scrupulous fidelity covers the period 1515-1522, yet his introduction and long appendixes are to a large extent concerned

with origins and early development. He has frequently had to extract what information he could from undated charters, a task beset with obvious dangers, and he has always been glad to avail himself, wherever possible, of the work of other scholars, notably Professor W. A. Morris, on analogous developments in other countries. Such evidence as can at present be adduced suggests that the sheriff was given a place, in what had hitherto been a Celtic organization, by David I. (1124-1153), perhaps as a result of his sojourn in England during his youth at the court of his brother-in-law, Henry I. Since Scotland had till then been little affected by feudalizing tendencies, the sheriffdoms did not accommodate themselves, as in England, to previously existing territorial arrangements, but were simply artificial units formed round a castle, after the fashion of the Continental chatellany. We should expect the old Celtic organization to make a strenuous resistance to the introduction of an alien method of government, but, unfortunately, all details of such a struggle seem irrecoverable. But some of the features of the old system lived on: the "mair", once the powerful representative of the king in the localities, became what Dr. Dickinson terms the "orderly serjeant" of the sheriff court, the agent by whom the sheriff's instructions were carried out; the "judex", once the dispenser of customary law, had gradually to retire in face of a new, a written, a national law, administered by the sheriff, and degenerated into being merely the "dempster" or announcer of the judgments of the sheriff court, "a poore ignorant old beggarlie fellowe". But this decline in status must have been gradual, for Fife itself, like other parts of Scotland, remained for long a stronghold of ancient legal customs which may well have caused bewilderment to those not brought up amongst them, and we may perhaps observe that as late as 1294-1295 a payment of 26 s. 8 d. a year was being made *judici reddenti judicia in comitatu de Fife* (Joseph Stevenson, *Documents*, I. 410, 414).

A sound historical background having been obtained, Dr. Dickinson has written a lucid and concise account of the officers, the suitors, the procedure, and the legal competence of the sheriff court. Slips and what seem to be misinterpretations are extremely rare. The statement, however, that a fragment of the account of William Freskin, sheriff of Invernairn in 1204, has been preserved (p. 358) is misleading; we have only a reference in an indenture of 1296 to the fact that such an account was at that time in existence; the earliest extant original accounts come from well on in the fourteenth century. Nor can we accept the evidence for the suggestion that in 1250 "the judicial decisions of Parliament were seldom recorded" (p. xxix). This is really the opinion expressed in the introduction to the second volume of the *Acta Dominorum Concilii* (p. xix). But it is very doubtful whether the meeting in question was a parliament, for it is dangerous to identify *concilium* with *parliamentum* since the normal equivalent is *colloquium*, and "judicial decisions" strains the sense of the passage. In connection with the existence of a small committee of the sheriff court, to which the functions of the larger body were

delegated, we may perhaps point out that much highly suggestive information will be found in the recently published volume of the Chetham Society, *Calendar of County Court, City Court and Eyre Rolls of Chester, 1259-1297*. But to end on a note of criticism would be ungracious. We are indeed grateful to Dr. Dickinson for the elaborate care which has gone to the writing of this work of authoritative scholarship.

GEORGE SAYLES.

Das Südwestdeutsche Reichsdorf in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart.

Von EDWIN ROEDDER. (Lahr. i. B.: Schauenberg. 1928. Pp. xxviii, 463. 22 M.)

THREE peasant villages, Ober-, Mittel-, and Unter-Schefflenz, situated about 27 miles due east of Heidelberg in what is known as the Bauland of Baden, are the subject of this, the latest of Ernst Ochs's *Arbeiten über Mundarten und Volkstum Südwestdeutschlands*. The author's primary interest was the speech of these villagers and from this study he proceeded to that of their history and their folkways. Printing costs, however, decreed that what was secondary in his mind should be first in publication.

About the villages there are only occasional references before the fourteenth century and not until the latter part of the sixteenth do records appear in sufficient abundance to make possible the writing of an adequate historical narrative. For about a hundred pages, consequently, Dr. Roedder can offer only what the archaeologist would call a "restoration" of the history of the villages based on the general history of southwestern Germany. For example, he devotes eight pages to the causes and course of the Peasants' War of 1525 and then concludes that while no doubt many a Schefflenzer had shed his blood in the uprising, the villages probably participated very little or did so only under compulsion. For the early and Medieval periods the author, moreover, is quite dependent upon secondary works, and some questionable statements occur. A transition from a natural to a money economy was hardly "sehr merklich" in Charlemagne's day, and the Frankish Empire did not precisely fall to pieces along natural lines in 843. When, however, local records become more plentiful, Dr. Roedder's history becomes invaluable. His pages then are crowded with matter fresh from the sources and appealing to historians of every shade of interest. There are intimate pictures of peasant life in the region, clearly worked out accounts of the involved and interminable quarrels of the lords of the country over the revenues of the villagers. The Pfalz, it appears, suffered more in the wars waged by Louis XIV. than in the Thirty Years' War. In the period of the Napoleonic occupation the villagers were driven by necessity to attack their forest preserves in order to meet the exactions of their masters. Their wood curiously enough found its way to Holland and thence, no doubt, to England. Of the last fifteen years less is said than one might, perhaps unreasonably, expect.

The section of the book entitled *Volkstum*, a term which the author might more aptly have translated into English as "folkways" than as "folklore", photographs the Schefflenz villagers as they were in the latter half of the last century. Urban influences were creeping into their lives and transforming them; still the change had not become so marked as to obliterate the *mores* which had come down through the centuries. Dr. Roedder's marshalling of this material leaves nothing to be desired. The people are pictured in their life at home, in their work in the fields, in their community relations through the seasons of the year, and from the cradle to the grave. In these seventy-five pages every thread in the warp and woof of sturdy South German life is microscopically examined, and the author's belief that these villagers are fairly typical of Southwestern Germany is substantiated. Many of the stories and customs in vogue in the Schefflenz towns are to be found also in the Breisgau, and but a few days in the hamlets of central Pennsylvania would be richly rewarded by the rediscovery of some of them in but slightly modified form.

Despite his long residence in the United States Dr. Roedder only occasionally slips into Americanized German. This one may easily forgive, and much more if there were need of it, for the intimate warmth that pervades the book because of its author's ability to think and write as his home folk thought and spoke.

FRANCIS J. TSCHAN.

Acta Concilii Constanciensis. Herausgegeben in verbindung mit J. HOLLNSTEINER und H. HEIMPEL von HEINRICH FINKE. Vierter Band. (Münster i. W.: Regensburg. 1928. Pp. ciii, 1024. Paper 48 M.; cloth 58 M.)

THE importance of Finke's work, of which the fourth and final volume is now before us, is well expressed in the last sentence of his preface: "The history of the Council of Constance can now be written." The meaning of that is not quite that we now have access to all the documentary material relating to the council; for the editor is careful to point out many unexplored regions which may yield still further and richer harvests. It does mean, however, that these four stately volumes supplement the work of previous investigators to such an extent that a new history of this earliest and in some respects most important of European congresses may well be undertaken.

The story of the present work is peculiar. It is now forty years since the author, then a young *privatdocent* at the University of Münster, in the preface to his *Forschungen und Quellen*, declared his intention to publish a collection of *acta inedita* as a preliminary to a history of the council. Seven years later, in 1896, appeared the first volume of this collection covering, however, only the years 1410 to 1414, not reaching the council itself, but furnishing valuable introductory material. The effect was obviously to postpone the progress of the main work and in

fact it was twenty-seven years before the second volume was ready, and then it was found to contain, not records of the council but literary productions of various kinds: diaries, abstracts of sermons, and treatises on reform, with their prolonged discussions of the foundations of the church constitution—again most valuable contributions, but not "*Acta*".

Meanwhile the editor's interest, if it had not slackened, had been diverted into other fields, and it was only after two younger collaborators had been called in that it was possible to issue the third volume in the year 1926. The inevitable delays in publication consequent upon the war were added to other obstacles. The two hundred and seventy-four numbers of this volume were grouped according to their relation to the four popes of the council with more than one-third of the space given to Benedict XIII. and the affairs of Spain.

And now we have the fourth volume, the largest of all, more than eleven hundred pages, bringing the number of *Acta* up to 548 in addition to the 113 numbers in volume I. The contents of volume IV. are grouped according to subjects. First comes the general introduction to the whole work repeatedly announced and postponed in previous volumes. In this introduction covering a hundred pages are given, first a list of publications of source-material, beginning with Anton Sorg's curious illustrated edition of Richental's chronicle in 1483 and coming down through v. d. Hardt's gigantic collection in six volumes (1696-1700) to the scattered documents found in numerous works not primarily concerned with the council. Then follows an exhaustive list of manuscripts almost all of which, with the exception of the English and the Polish-Russian, the editor has personally examined. The arrangement is by countries and brief comments serve to show the comparative value of the several pieces.

About nine hundred pages are given to the six groups of documents relating to the following subjects: (1) Spain, with a supplement on the coronation of Martin V.; (2) the discussions about tyrannicide, divided between the trial of Jean Petit and the almost equally famous case of Johannes Falkenberg; (3) matters pertaining to the Empire, especially important for the journeys of Sigismund and his relations with the council; (4) minor groups including one relating to Hus and Bohemian affairs; (5) treatises on reform, (a) *Capitula Agendorum* with a long introduction to show that these are mainly, if not entirely, the work of Cardinal d'Ailly, (b) Dietrich von Nieheim's treatise: *Avisamenta Edita in Concilio Constanciensi*, generally cited since v. d. Hardt as *De Necessitate Reformationis Ecclesiae in Capite et in Membris*; this highly important evidence of the reforming spirit at Constance is here re-edited with the use of manuscript material much more extensive than that employed by v. d. Hardt; (6) additions to volumes I.-IV. occupying 250 pages.

Finally, two elaborate indexes to volumes II.-IV. prepared by Dr. H. Heimpe, one of persons, covering more than one hundred pages and in-

cluding references to v. d. Hardt's volume, and a much shorter one of subjects.

These four volumes represent the life-work of a diligent, learned, and persistent scholar. So far as impartiality is possible in dealing with a subject bristling with controversy he shows no marked partizan attitude. His introductions at the beginning of the several sections are sufficient, but no more than sufficient, to give an idea of the nature of the material and to furnish an outline of the general situation. The brief summaries at the head of every document serve as guides to the reader and help to carry along the story of the council from stage to stage.

Now, who will accept the challenge of the preface and write the definitive history of the Great Council?

E. EMERTON.

Allgemeine Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit.

Von Dr. JOSEF KULISCHER, Professor an der Universität Leningrad. Zweiter band, *Die Neuzeit*. [Handbuch der Mittelalterlichen und Neueren Geschichte, herausgegeben von G. von Below und F. Meinecke.] (Munich and Berlin: R. Oldenbourg. 1929. Pp. xii, 553. 24 M.)

THE work completed in this volume affords the most comprehensive treatise on the economic history of Europe produced in any language during the last thirty years. Recent general treatises have been planned on a much smaller scale and have emphasized problems of interpretation. The present work surveys the entire body of material now available in monographic form in German, French, English, and Russian. The volumes in Renard's *Histoire Universelle du Travail* most closely resemble this study in scope and compass, but the treatment of the period since 1500 in that series is distinctly inferior whereas the special distinction of Professor Kulischer's work lies in the careful analysis of the difficult formative period (1500-1789). Sombart's study of this period is really the only general work which surpasses the present volume in thoroughness of documentation, but although Sombart gives more detail he is hardly as trustworthy in the handling of material and his interests are not as broad and free from bias.

As in the first volume of the present work, the general point of view is based upon the traditions of the German historical school, though the new work of Weber and Sombart has been freely used and the generalizations of Schmoller and Bücher have been brought into closer conformity to the objective facts of history. The skill shown in assimilating the new interpretations to the older tradition is one of the most striking features of Professor Kulischer's work. The importance of the rise of capitalism is recognized and many phases of institutional growth are treated with more genuine insight than is shown by Sombart. But this aspect of economic development is held by Kulischer to be only a part of the whole. He contends that the rise of nationalism is the more general

phenomenon and that it is more significant for the characterization of the period. In commenting upon the nineteenth century, he refuses to recognize any "world economy" before 1870, and leaves the reader some doubt of any willingness to adopt Harms's characterization even for the recent period.

There is thus a conscious adherence to the older tradition in preference to the newer views, but the tradition is not accepted without profound modification. The older nationalists made a fetish of the isolation of each national group. Kulischer recognizes explicitly the broader elements of economic development common to Europe as a whole. The history of consumption and the problems of diffusion of new technique are more adequately handled than in the older writings and the transfer of industrial and commercial prestige or "supremacy" from the Mediterranean powers to the Northern powers is carefully sketched. Although the analysis on this point might be developed further, the changes are represented as a result of fundamental economic conditions and not as being primarily an accomplishment of mercantilistic statecraft. Analysis of the influence of geographical and technological factors is not, however, a conspicuous feature of the text.

These matters of general interpretation are not obtrusive, and the care taken to present all of the primary results of monographic work is so evident that one might easily overlook the broader features of the volume. The entire text achieves a high standard of excellence, but in many sections the material is followed so closely that the results are not distinctive. This is notably true of the careful chapters on agrarian conditions. The more original sections are those dealing with the organization of industry and commerce in the period 1500-1789. The putting-out system is described at considerable length, and special attention is given to what is called "centralized manufacture". This form of industrial organization is distinguished, perhaps not too happily, from the factory system. There are good chapters on industrial policy, the crafts, the primary industries, and the condition of the wage-earning class. In connection with commerce and trade there is much essentially new synthesis on occupational specialization, the bourses, banking, and credit organization.

The excellent bibliographical material is somewhat marred by occasional errors in the transliteration of names from the Russian, though most of the errors will be readily corrected by the reader. It is perhaps somewhat more serious to find the author of the *Parfait Négociant*, Jacques Savary (1622-1690), confused frequently with the author of the *Dictionary of Commerce*, Jacques Savary des Bruslons (1657-1716).

Because of the quality of the achievement, this study reveals certain weaknesses that underlie nearly all work on the general economic history of Europe. Partly from national pride, partly because of linguistic difficulties, England, France, and Germany play a disproportionate part in the story. The amount of material on the Low Countries, in the languages more commonly known, is happily growing to such proportions

that Holland and Belgium get more nearly the attention that their importance demands. The increase in this material is strikingly reflected in the present work. But Italy does not yet command the place in general narratives that the importance of her history would warrant. This relative neglect of Italian material undoubtedly affects our concepts of the historical movement in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The importance of Italy is recognized in principle in the present volume, but the amount of material on Italy in French, German, and English is still too scant to admit of full appreciation of the place of Italy in the economic history of Europe.

ABBOTT PAYSON USHER.

Luther and the Reformation. By JAMES MACKINNON, Ph.D., D.D.,
Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History, University of Edinburgh. Volume III., *Progress of the Movement, 1521-1529.*
(London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company.
1929. Pp. xvii, 338. \$6.40.)

Most crucial years in the history of the Reformation are those from the Diet of Worms to the fateful conference of Marburg, years challenging the historian's best powers of delineation and interpretation. Professor Mackinnon has responded with a volume superior in scholarship and urbanity to its predecessors, one that is livelier for its occupation with the times as well as the man, and more convincing because its facts derive more strictly from sources and its judgments less from commentators.

His organization is commensurate with the problem. The first scenes concern Luther at the Wartburg and at Wittenberg, as scholar and practical reformer; the author then launches out to tell or suggest the where and how of the Reformation in Germany, its political ramifications, the impulse to, and the recoil from, the movements of social reform urged on by knights, radicals, peasants; from this tumult he withdraws to ponder deliberately the free-will controversy which alienated Luther and Erasmus; again engaged with practical affairs he sketches the rapid consolidation of the evangelical movement, explains how its church was organized, and passes from the Protestation of 1529 to the tragic epilogue of the sacramentarian schism.

Criticism of the work must take cognizance of the author's primary interest in essentially religious-theological questions. Most satisfactorily he expounds Luther's religious writings and his theological controversies, with Erasmus over the freedom or bondage of the will, with Zwingli over the Eucharist; but while in its attention to political and social questions the book represents an improvement over the earlier volumes, there are yet serious omissions, and it remains an inadequate history of Luther's relation to the problems of civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction and an unsatisfactory account of the development of Luther's ideas as to intolerance and its justification.

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That the biography should neglect to mention that Luther married Catherine von Bora is no mortal sin; it is more serious that it conveys no sense of Germany's political and social situation in 1521, that it gives briefest notice to the spread of the movement from 1525, that it slights "Anabaptism" in all too conventional fashion, and completely forgets the fact, the significance, and the effect of Lutheranism's appeal to the middle class. And what is to account for the defection of so many humanists? Were they motivated by cowardice, imitation of Erasmus, or something creditably deeper; and is no share of the responsibility Luther's?

The account of Luther's intellectual history in respect to political problems deserves indictment at the outset for its scant notice of the important treatise *Von Weltlicher Oberkeit* (1523), and its total neglect of the soundest and keenest study yet made of the subject (J. W. Allen, *The Political Conceptions of Luther in Tudor Studies*, 1924). It suffers, despite a serious effort to indicate justly the course and basis of Luther's ideas, from considering his utterances detached from the circumstances of their origin. This deficiency still more seriously vitiates the worth of what is said on the question of tolerance. Here the writings of Völker, Paulus, Evans, would have lent a sense of discrimination which Professor Mackinnon did not bring to his study of the sources in question.

Well to rejoice when Luther proclaims, in 1523, that "Thought is duty free", that God's word and not the sword must contend with heretics; but his preceding sentences make plain that he is condemning the repression of Lutherans begun by Catholic princes. Is Luther in 1524 "still the champion of the free exchange of opinion in the cause of truth" when he writes (December 2) that his Wittenbergers "have at last compelled the canons to agree to abolish the Mass"? The sects, however, are still to be tolerated. But in late 1525 (and this Professor Mackinnon omits altogether) the repression of the "blasphemy" charged now against radicals as well as Papists has become, in Luther's interpretation of the Second Commandment, the highest duty of a prince (*W. A.*, XVI. 467-476). Finally, as to the decision of the Diet of Spires that in one region there must be but one religious teaching, who more than Luther commended it to the princes before the diet or besought his prince more earnestly thereafter to organize the territorial church on reformed lines? And with what consequences for toleration!

ERNEST W. NELSON.

Registres du Conseil de Genève. Publiés par la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Genève. Tome IX., *Du 1 Juillet 1520 au 3 Février 1525.* Tome X., *Du 5 Février 1525 au 9 Février 1528.* Tome XI. (in page-proof only), *Du 9 Février 1528 au 24 Juillet, 1531.* (Geneva: Kundig. 1924, 1928, 1929.)

THESE registers containing the Latin minutes of the Genevan Council from the early fifteenth century—1409—have been in course of publica-

tion for 28 years. It would, perhaps, be more accurate to say councils, as the records cover the decisions of the ordinary council, the council of 50, that of 200, and the general council or popular assembly of all voters. To M. Rivoire was due the initiation of the enterprise and his charming personality continues to preside over the forthcoming volumes. There have been several colleagues in parts of the work, while M. Victor van Berchem has been associated with M. Rivoire since 1906 and the two scholars seem like genii of the state archives, breathing life into the queer writing of the old scribes.

In their preface to volume IX. the editors point out that the epoch covered therein—1520–1525—has received little attention. It is not heroic. Depression in civic enterprise after the death of Berthelier is evident. The check to the alliance with Berne and Fribourg seemed final. It looked as though the Duke of Savoy might be successful in his project of making Geneva the capital of an enlarged ducal territory. There are no opposers to his policy elected into the city administration. But, if out of office, those surviving patriots are very much alive and mindful of the aspirations of the dead Berthelier and the living Besançon Hugues. They continue to assert that their franchises prove conclusively that the duke has no sovereign rights in Geneva. When Pierre de la Baume became first coadjutor and then bishop in his own person, hope ran high of working through him in repulsing Savoy. That he was not of that house, like such a long line of his predecessors, was so much to the good. The citizens got behind the bishop's robes and waved his prerogatives as a flag. But Pierre de la Baume was not to be a popular leader, capable of turning his principality into a temporal possession, as did some contemporaries who accepted reform policies. He had no Protestant inclinations, he was a humanist, had cultivated tastes, and liked the good things of this world. Staying power in any line was, however, entirely lacking in his composition. He was a typical Mr. Facing-both-ways. He declared that he was the faithful servant of Charles V., while he was in mortal terror of Charles III. of Savoy, so that his excessive deference to the latter kept Geneva in constant danger, even while he pretended to be with the citizens. There were moments in which he thought a strong hand would be a pleasant help in time of trouble. Nor was he alone in that opinion. The council, as then constituted, also had leanings towards Savoy assistance. The clergy claimed exemption from the wine tax. Would not the duke help the authorities to convince the clericals that they were not immune from this obligation?

When the new duchess, Beatrice of Portugal, made a visit to Geneva, there was readiness to give her a cordial welcome. But the Genevans soon had cause for annoyance against the duke. He went too far in his pretensions. No privilege was more cherished than that of trial for all causes on Genevan territory alone. The summons to citizens to appear before a Savoy tribunal at Chambéry excited immediate protests which bore fruit.

It is true that certain references to the spread of Luther's ideas begin to figure in the minutes before the close of 1525, but the opposition to Savoy did not spring from them; still less opposition to the bishop. The movements were purely political and based on chartered rights, not on revolutionary claims, and the leaders in any of the protests made against encroachments were not those who were in the least sympathetic to the reform movement, and Calvin was still unknown.

With the sessions recorded in volume X. (1525-1528), the minutes reveal a turn in civic sympathies and opinions. The depression, following the tragedy of Berthelier's execution and the collapse of the proposed alliance with Berne and Fribourg, begins to fade away in the light of a new-born energy. Collisions with the duke become frequent. In 1526, the election of syndics proved a change in public sentiment. A majority was gained in favor of the alliance that had hung fire for seven years. (Berne had hesitated in face of the duke's displeasure.) Now it was definitely desired, while Fribourg had never wavered in her desire for the treaty. In Geneva the articles of alliance were successively approved by the ordinary council and the council of 200, before the question was submitted to the accredited citizens—the Council General—on Sunday, February 25. It was an interesting referendum. The vote was nearly unanimous.

It is interesting to note that the secretary of the council, Étienne Bioley, whose handwriting fills the pages of the registers for nearly eight years, felt obliged to resign, when he saw that the outcome was certain. His successor, Ami Porral, was a man of different metal and more hopeful of Geneva's ability to attain her ends. The patriots who had been forced to take refuge in Fribourg in order to escape possible danger at the hands of the duke, had found him a faithful friend and correspondent, zealous to keep the exiles informed of the trend of home events. Occasionally Porral seems to have let family duties interfere with his official work, as he was frequently absent. Sometimes a substitute took down the minutes for him, but there were three months of sessions unrecorded.

It is also interesting to get a glimpse of the bishop's attitude towards events as they passed. Secretly he favored the alliance, but took infinite pains to express a disapproval in public in order to convince the duke that the step was taken without his sanction. It was rare for a bishop to be present at a general council, but there he was on February 25, where he began by opposing the ratification, even threatening to appeal to pope and emperor in order to stop the proceeding. Then he washed his hands of responsibility and stood aside. If the citizens really thought they were justified in their action by their franchises, written or unwritten, why let them go ahead. He would not put in a veto. To save his face with the duke, Pierre de la Baume took care not to be present when the oath of "Combourgeoisie" was taken on March 12. Pressing business called him to Burgundy.

In Genevan annals, this "Combourgeoisie" was counted as an epoch-making event—different from an alliance between the same parties made in 1477—although it was only for a definite term and nearly three centuries were to pass before Geneva became a member of the Swiss Confederation.

In spite of the defiance of the duke shown in the completion of this alliance in the face of his determined opposition, and with little support from the prince bishop, ten years more were to pass before Geneva stood on her own feet. There was no idea of discarding the bishop. He was prince, and as sovereign the citizens expected him to remain, while they were tenacious about their own privileges. Meanwhile the duke was not idle. The later researches of MM. Rivoire and van Berchem in the Turin archives as well as at Berne and Fribourg have brought to light many illuminating documents, which fill out the lacunae. Then, too, the interest taken in the anniversary of 1926 induced several historians, notably Professors Borgeaud and Werner, to dedicate interesting articles to particular phases of the subject.

The 556 pages of text are supplemented by lists of the city officials, by 65 pages of additional notes—rich in material—and by 80 of index—a splendid guide for those desiring special information.

Volume XI. covers the period February, 1528–July, 1531. As a whole this can not be properly noticed as the editors have not yet prepared preface, index, and additional notes. One item alone may be glanced at as an indication of the gradual progress towards self-government. On November 7, 1529, the council of 200 decided to institute its own, the city's own, tribunal for the administration of justice. On the following Sunday, the project was submitted to the Council General, and duly confirmed in popular referendum. In May that same body, each citizen lifting his hand, had again sworn that they would rather die than renounce the alliance with Berne and Fribourg—a measure that the duke was still trying to compass after the three years of the pact's existence.

Thus the story proceeds towards the culmination in 1536, when the city authorities placed themselves in the chair of the departed bishop and assumed sovereignty. The decisive steps were taken long before Calvin had the slightest knowledge of the city, and by men who were not in the least drawn towards the ideas of the Protestant revolt. Then, too, it must be remembered that the movement was not yet revolutionary. All the citizens were demanding observance of their ancient privileges. They were still looking backwards to their charters, not forward to a new order.

RUTH PUTNAM.

Witchcraft in Old and New England. By GEORGE LYMAN KIT-
TREDGE, Gurney Professor of English Literature in Harvard Uni-
versity. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1929. Pp.
640. \$6.00.)

AFTER so many hasty and misleading books on witchcraft and its history, it is a joy to turn the scholarly pages of Professor Kittredge. Equipped by years of study and giving for his every statement his authorities, he has here garnered the whole wealth of literary allusion to the presence, in lands of English speech, of the beliefs and practices loosely known under the name of witchcraft. Glancing briefly at "English Witchcraft before 1558", he then takes up one by one the various ways by which human craft or passion has used—or thought to use—supernal aid for mischief, discussing the evidence for their occurrence in England. To this body of fresh research he prefixes an earlier study on a "typical case" of Elizabethan prosecution for witchcraft, and at the end adds his well-known defense of King James I. and his yet earlier "Notes on Witchcraft", now re-christened "Witchcraft and the Puritans".

Even the new matter is not without polemic flavor. Miss Murray's theory of a secret religion is swept away for England by showing how late and slight was there the thought of any witch-assembly. But his older studies, which deal less with witchcraft than with the treatment of those accused of it, are more controversial; and it is their assertions, echoed in the younger, that stir to contradiction. He now wars most hotly against a theory that "English witchcraft was a theological importation from the Continent". But here he tilts against a windmill. Those who ascribe an influence to Bishop Jewel or the Marian exiles make no such sweeping claim. They too find England like the rest of Latin Christendom until the later Middle Ages, when the Holy Inquisition, victorious over heresy, took cognizance of witchcraft, and when its theologians, expounding that crime, found in the torture an easy means to prove the most fantastic charge. Then, indeed, as Mr. Kittredge fully sees, there came in the inquisitorial courts, and soon in public teaching, grave change to the conception. The crime was now the awful one of treason to the majesty divine. No earthly penalty could be severe; and, since Satan works marvels to help his servants keep his secrets, the torture must in this "excepted crime" be free from limit. The horrors now confessed stirred panic; and soon lay courts (for the crime was *mixti fori*) had borrowed, in all lands of Roman law, Scotland included, both theory and procedure. The Reformation for a moment took all thought; but Protestant soon outdid Catholic, and proved his hate of witchcraft by statutes punishing the sin with death, regardless whether harm to neighbor was involved.

What Mr. Kittredge denies is England's share in this; and none will seriously dissent. Lacking both Inquisition and Roman law, and thus almost escaping use of torture, England scarcely knew a systematic witch-

quest. But, when in the Elizabethan law the student of history catches an echo of those taking form in other Protestant lands, when during its discussion he hears appeal for vigor from a leader of those who had found shelter from Mary's violence at Geneva, Zurich, Strasburg, where the witch-hunt was already on, and when from the judge in an English witch-trial he presently learns that the commissions for such witch-hunting were issued because a man "come over lately unto our Queenes Majestie" "hath advertised her what a companie and number of Witches be within Englande", he has ground for assuming a Continental influence; and Mr. Kittredge's effort to explain it away will not convince him. But no student of history could suppose the returning exiles the only channel of that influence, or feel forced, whatever its channels, to choose between it and the more general causes which in England, as elsewhere, had laid the fuel such a spark could set ablaze. To him the past is always a more tangled skein, and even popular superstition but a single thread. A common heritage it doubtless is; but, like any heritage, it may lie inert, as it so largely does today. A "creed", as Mr. Kittredge likes to call it, it is not; for a creed, if it be common, is of official source and formulation. A "witch-creed" there came to be in Christendom, and much it borrowed from the world of folklore; but one must seek it in the canons of the Church, and in it the essence of witchcraft is not harm to neighbor. Not all witch-trials, of course, were "prompted by systems of devil-lore" or by the text "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live"; but is it less wild to claim that none were so? How was it where the penalty was death and where they counted their victims by the myriad?

Elizabethan England went less far; and Mr. Kittredge's "typical case" is typical of the mildness there still possible. His poor fisher-folk were not done to death. But, if one turn to a fatal trial—say, that of the Windsor women—one may hear another diction: how Satan "hath of late yeares greatly multiplied" the witches "and muche encreased their malice", how "albeit the Justicer bee severe in executyng of the Lawes", "yet suche is the foolishe pitie, or slacknes, or both, of the multitude and under officers" that they escape unpunished "to the dishonour of God", how "it is Satan that doeth all", for "without him the Witche can contrive no mischief", yet "by the lawe of the Lord of life Witches are accompted unworthy to live". But they who in such words hear the accent of Geneva hear also in England a repugnance which soon had spokesmen not only in laymen like Scot, but in the leaders of the English Church. Such variance Mr. Kittredge will not see. Scot's book, he thinks, was idle—because "he does not deny the existence of evil spirits". Bishop Bancroft and Dr. Harsnet might speak hotly as to witches, but were only fighting exorcism. How much, then, dared one say? Was not Bancroft, for questioning a witch's sentence, threatened with *Praemunire*? When he smiled at Anne Kerke's counterfeiting, "Judge Anderson and other of the Bench thought it necessarie for the satisfying of the Jurie to urge the Scriptures for proove that there is witchcrafte".

Of course Scot did not deny spirits—or witches. He is at pains to say that he denies only what is believed of them. But the subterfuge did not deceive King James.

Ah, King James! In England, pleads Mr. Kittredge, his views changed; and, in general, his persecution has been exaggerated. No scholar now doubts this, though none has pleaded for him with such learning. If only his champion could be moderate! Even in Scotland James, he says, was only “swept off his feet by the tide”. But, when a young king shows such interest as himself to sit with the bench, take a hand in the torture, scold the judges for mildness, expound the crime in a public speech, pen a book against those who palliate it, take on his royal visitations a witch who offers to detect all others, he may almost be thought a leader. Could the king’s zeal really do no harm in Scotland because there “there were none to convert”? Why, then, that Tolbooth speech against “thinking such matters mere fantasies”? Why a book to answer Scot and Wier—and not in Latin or English, but only in braid Scots? And what could Robert Chambers—than whom no man better knew Scottish witchcraft—mean by “that doubt of the reality of witchcraft which is suspected to have lurked in the minds of all the principal official people throughout the seventeenth century”? At least, faith had a limit. Against the use of the witch-informer, even Scottish presbyteries protested. When she was proved a fraud, both Kirk and Parliament took action. If it was only James who then “by a stroke of his pen” revoked the commissions, his part in their creation can hardly have been less.

That in England he had small share in the new law is far from proved by sifting Parliament records. Since when did royalty need naming in such minutes? Was not the king’s wish known? In England, under the tutelage of his bishops, James no doubt learned much. But did not they in turn heed him? Who under James spoke out in print like Scot? How should his subjects know his changing mind? For James took nothing back; and rigor, to the end, made him its authority. Hear Edward Fairfax, in words worth study, explain his failure in 1621 to convict the women he accused. He is not, he says, despite belief in witches, Papist or Puritan. But the accused “wanted not both counsellors and supporters of the best able and most understanding about them”, and the doubts of these found welcome with the justices, in deference to those who uttered them or “for that those magistrates were incredulous of things of this kind”. Objections came, too, from three sides: (1) “such as attribute too much to natural causes”, divines and physicians who thought his children merely ill; (2) “such as ascribe too much power to Spirits and Devils”, Papists who advised exorcism; (3) “such as flatly deny this to be Witchcraft, for they think that there be no Witches at all”. “Of this opinion”, he adds, “I hear and fear there be many, some of them men of worth, religious and honest”, of whom he would speak with reverence and modesty. The conceited he would

answer, "but our learned King has already done that to their confusion" in his book and in "the statute he hath since made against Witches, he and his wise parliament", and "many have died for the offence of Witchcraft whose innocent blood (if these men's opinions be true) crieth for vengeance". Nor did all these die for taking away life. For "his Majesty found a defect in the statutes made before his time, by which none died for Witchcraft but they only who by that means killed. . . . But his Highness made a new law against the sin itself, . . . and therein showed his zeal for the honour of God".

The "Notes on Witchcraft" is little changed as "Witchcraft and the Puritans". Calvinism is still denied all special weight, and doubt of this still is "loose" as well as mistaken. The final theses still claim witch-belief "practically universal" in the seventeenth century, and "logically and theologically stronger" than disbelief. But, despite such *obiter dicta*, it is an essay none would spare; and the fresh chapters, though they echo these dogmas, frame no new. So thorough is their scholarship, and so honest, that even the dissenter finds all the evidence before him. Perhaps those challenging theses, if born less early in their author's studies, might have been born less rash.

GEORGE L. BURR.

Richard Hakluyt and the English Voyages. By GEORGE BRUNER PARKS, Ph.D., Associate Professor of English in Washington University, edited with an introduction by James A. Williamson, D.Lit. [American Geographical Society, special publication, no. 10.] (New York: the Society. 1928. Pp. xviii, 289. \$5.00; to libraries \$4.00.)

THIS excellent monograph will be welcomed by investigators of Tudor literature, by researchers in the development of geographical ideas, and by students of Elizabethan expansion and American colonial history. The central figure of the book is Richard Hakluyt (?1551-1616), the compiler of *The Principal Navigations*. Hakluyt's rôle, as Dr. Parks describes it, was complex: service as editor and archivist, author of arguments in support of the colonizing movement, translator of valuable works on geography and history, counsellor for court and city where issues involving trade and expansion were under discussion. These varied activities are traced in a study that is justly proportioned and elegantly composed. The chronology of Hakluyt's life is carefully established upon a basis of published and manuscript materials; upon this foundation the superstructure of narration and criticism is erected. Dr. Parks has had to grapple with a succession of difficulties in the preparation of his book, and he has met them all: problems of pedigree, of Hakluytian bibliography, of the bibliography of geographical works. Dr. Parks has contributed richly to our understanding of Hakluyt's function and busy career. He is to be particularly commended for his scrupulous

determination to show his hero, at stage after stage of his life, actively concerned with the commercial affairs of his day. Hakluyt's interest in the world of books and study was balanced by a persistent zeal to apply the fruits of his learning to the solution of contemporary needs. A study of Hakluyt in the scholar's lair might have yielded results of interest to historians of literature, but the mode of treatment employed by the author has led to the production of a book which must be reckoned with by historians, economic and political as well. The results of many of the best special studies for this period have been profitably used by Dr. Parks, whose work gains in depth accordingly.

Few slips were noted. John Rut made his voyage (p. 12) in 1527, not in 1536. The conjecture (p. 12) that he is the same navigator as Jean Rotz is hardly valid; it is more likely that he hailed from Bristol. Not William (p. 257) but Henry Hudson gave the name to Hakluyt's Headland. Barros was no pilot (p. 80) but the Portuguese historiographer royal, João de Barros.

The convenience of a wider audience would have been served by citing Reed's book, *Early Tudor Drama* (London, 1926), which contains fresh evidence of maritime activity, instead of his rather inaccessible article (p. 8). Hamelius's edition of Mandeville's *Travels* might also have been (p. 269) noted. The valuable List of English Books of Geography and Travel to 1600 might in one respect have been strengthened by notes indicating, in the case of rare items, the location of copies of the works in question.

Of Frampton as translator, of Clement Adams as compiler of the early narrative of Russia, of Jenkinson as author of the expansionist "Petition" of 1565, Dr. Parks writes nothing. Yet in their modest way these writers were Hakluyt's precursors who helped prepare the public mind for his later and larger successes. But if Dr. Parks does them less than exact justice he makes ample amends by drawing forth from behind the arras of history the neglected figure of Richard Hakluyt of the Middle Temple. The restoration of this lawyer-geographer is one of the author's best strokes.

The publishers are to be congratulated upon the excellent appearance of the volume, and upon the liberality with which they have illustrated, by old maps and cuts, this lucid and informing text.

FULMER MOOD.

The Capuchins: a Contribution to the History of the Counter-Reformation. By FATHER CUTHBERT, O.S.F.C. Two volumes. (New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1929. Pp. 476. \$6.00.)

THE importance of the Capuchins as protagonists of the Counter-Reformation has been recognized both by contemporary writers and by later historians, but as a field for research their history has been neglected to a remarkable degree. As Father Cuthbert asserts, with becom-

ing modesty, much further detailed research will be necessary before a definitive history of the order can be written; the masses of documentary evidence scattered throughout the European archives must be carefully sifted, and the writings of the Capuchins more thoroughly studied. But though this be true, the world has at least been given in his work a clear and comprehensive account of the growth and principal activities of the order during the first two centuries of its existence, an account based largely on original sources, yet showing a thorough knowledge of the secondary material, and written with the accuracy demanded by modern scholarship. It is an illuminating book. In recounting the services of the Capuchins to church and people, it tells us much that is not generally known, and more that is not generally realized.

Father Cuthbert is at his best in telling the saga of the early Capuchins—the story of the individual men who gave the order its peculiar character and founded its tradition. Here one feels he is on safe and familiar ground, writing of men whom he knows and with whose spirit he finds himself, despite the intervening centuries, keenly in sympathy. Much of his book might have been written under the title, *In laudem Capuccinorum*. But if there is much praise, it is still sincere and discriminating praise. He does not hesitate to condemn where condemnation is due. He gives little attention to legend or miracle; but confines himself to the established record of the deeds of his heroes, content that by their works we should know them.

The first part of the book tells the story of the founding of the brotherhood from its earliest beginnings until its final establishment as an independent order in 1559. Here we have the story of Fra Matteo da Bascio's solitary determination to live according to the strict rule of the earliest Franciscans. Then follows the account of the successful revolt of Lodovico da Fossombrone and his brother against the restraint of their superiors of the Observant branch, culminating in the promulgation of the bull *Religionis Zelus* in 1528, which conferred a canonical status on the new fraternity. From then on the tale is one of constant service, but also of constant tribulation crowned by final triumph. After the defection of their vicar general, Bernardino Ochino, in 1542, the Capuchins narrowly escaped being suppressed by the pope. They slowly recovered however, under the able leadership of Francesco da Jesi, until by 1559 the friars were again to be found in all parts of Italy. In the long struggle between the Capuchins and the Observants, Father Cuthbert's sympathy is obviously with his own order, but he strives to be strictly fair to both sides.

Part II. continues the tale with the spread of the Capuchins beyond the Alps. By 1574 they had been given permission to go into all lands, carry on missionary work, and found new provinces. Soon we find them in almost every country in Europe, reviving the religious zeal of lukewarm Catholics, driving in the outposts of Protestantism, and even in some places successfully assaulting the embattled strongholds of heresy.

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The reader is free to maintain his private opinion of the ultimate value of their teaching—of its efficacy he can have no doubt. With the wider spread of Capuchin activity the story becomes less simple than that of the early days. The friars enter politics, and the intrigues of international diplomacy complicate the simple story of their ministrations to the people. Interesting figures, like that of the Capuchin duke, Père Ange de Joyeuse, still abound, but one feels that the author is on less certain ground, and that he turns with relief from the enigmatic genius of Père Joseph du Tremblay to the more obscure brothers who taught the people and labored among those stricken by the plague.

Perhaps the least thorough part of the work is that which deals with the Capuchins as makers of literature. Here Father Cuthbert is content merely to point out the general trends and indicate the significance of the most important writers. In this field brief studies have already been written by Henri Brémond in his *Histoire Littéraire du Sentiment Religieux en France*, and much remains to be done.

In the appendix to the second volume there are included several important sources illustrating points previously mentioned. There is also a critical account of the sources of early Capuchin history. It is unfortunate that there is no bibliography, which would have been useful in bringing together in one list the numerous monographs on the history of the order cited throughout the book.

WALLACE K. FERGUSON.

Oxfordshire Peculiars of Dorchester, Thame, and Banbury. Edited by SIDNEY A. PEYTON. [Oxfordshire Record Society, vol. X.] (Oxfordshire Record Society. 1928. Pp. lxxv, 350.)

IN these presentments the churchwardens of three groups of parishes in Oxfordshire set forth for the information of the possessors of ecclesiastical jurisdiction breaches of ecclesiastical law committed by the parishioners. The action taken on the presentments by the courts is also recorded in some instances. The presentments from all the parishes begin during the reign of James I. With a gap from about 1626 to 1660, they extend to various dates in the eighteenth century, and in one instance to 1834. They are of value chiefly for the seventeenth century. In the next century ecclesiastical jurisdiction was losing its force. The curate who, in 1764, presented his churchwardens for having "wittingly and willingly, desperately and irreligiously . . . incurr'd the horrible Sin of Perjury" for "neglecting to present publick offenses and Enormities, which they knew to be committed in the said Parish" (p. 77) was running counter to the public opinion of his time. The presentations of this century frequently record nothing more than "all well".

Few official documents bring us into more intimate touch with the lives of ordinary men and women of the period than do these. In them we find churches in such perfect condition that "we have noe person in the parish but what doth keepe ye Church as well as any persons under the

heavens" (p. 51); in such, "Rewinus" (p. 114) states that it "makes us to be laughed at and jeered by the Phanatick brood" (p. 91); and in all intermediate conditions. We meet innumerable parishioners who have failed to pay rates or dues, of whom some relieve their minds and add to their troubles by calling the churchwarden "old Rogue" (p. 189) or worse. Absentees from divine worship on page after page bring us into contact with separatists, dissenters, "schismaticks", conventicles, Quakers, Catholics, and the ebb and flow of the penal laws against them; with butchers who kept their shops open (p. 119), a housewife who baked, washed, and starched (p. 139), and a barber who cut hair (p. 206) on Sunday; with a carter who worked on a holiday (p. 120); and with those who drank in their homes when they should have been in church (p. 205). We are edified by brawlers in church (p. 85), quarrels for possession of pews (p. 186), and a drunken communicant who "did vomit up his Drinck to the anying of the congregation" (p. 246). A minister who does not wear a surplice (p. 193) and a vicar at odds with his parishioners because he makes them kneel at communion (p. 201) provide us with samples of many events which reflect the bitter controversies waged over ceremonies. The fighting, drinking parson is not absent (p. 195), though he does not impress us as typical. Perusal of any ten pages tells us why the archdeacon's court was known in common parlance as the "bawdy court" (p. viii). The most extraordinary case illustrates the normal procedure. In 1696 a man sold his wife for 2¼ d. a pound (p. 184). The purchaser was presented "for cohabiteing in an unlawfull manner with the wife", according to "publick fame and report". He was tried by compurgation. When he failed to produce the "six hands" required to attest his oath of innocence, he was ordered to do public penance. We are introduced much less frequently to "great swearers" (p. 213), blasphemers (p. 200), and those who were "often drunke" (p. 212) or "usuallie drunk" (p. 290). Possibly fewer offended in these particulars, or possibly such offenses were not taken too seriously. "We cannot define a blasphemer, swearer or drunkard" reported the churchwardens of King's Sutton (p. 294). In Banbury we come across the village wag, who bore the famous name of John Ball. He was presented "for procuring the Bell to be knoled for John Smith in mockery" (p. 205). Such incidents, along with glimpses of usurers, burials, church ales, baptisms, schools, scolds, sorcerers, defamations, Sabbath-day sports, and perambulations, cause to pass before us the ideals, beliefs, gossip, amusements, labors, sorrows, and joys of the English countryside in the seventeenth century.

Mr. Peyton has performed his editorial task excellently save in one particular. A reader who wishes to weigh carefully the evidence found in some of the documents is likely to need fuller information about the nature and the provenance of the manuscripts than the editor supplies. The introduction is an admirable study, based on extensive research in materials still largely in manuscript. It contains an explanation of the

jurisdiction of the courts of the peculiars and a rounded survey of the duties and responsibilities of the churchwardens in connection with the presentments. The essay not only helps to interpret the documents, but also adds much of interest to our knowledge of the officials who took so large a part in the parochial affairs of the period.

W. E. LUNT.

The Life of Sir Charles Hanbury-Williams: Poet, Wit, and Diplomatist. By the Earl of Ilchester and Mrs. Langford-Brooke. (London: Thornton Butterworth. 1928. Pp. 447. 21 s.)

Correspondence of Catherine the Great, when Grand Duchess, with Sir Charles Hanbury-Williams and Letters from Count Poniatowski. Edited and translated by the Earl of Ilchester and Mrs. Langford-Brooke. (London: Thornton Butterworth. 1928. Pp. 288. 21 s.)

STUDENTS of eighteenth-century history will be mildly interested by this well-written biography of a typical English gentleman of the time and by his correspondence with the Grand Duchess Catherine of Russia. The first third of the biography deals with Sir Charles's family and personal history, occasional dabbling in politics, and his verse-making and love-making activities. His writings, published in 1822 in three volumes, had included certain poems "two highly flavoured for the taste of that generation" and given their author a hard reputation. One object of this study may well have been to rehabilitate the memory of the poet and wit. Some of the extracts from his verses are of interest to historical students, for Sir Charles was friendly with Hervey, Pelham, Henry Fox, Chesterfield, and Horace Walpole, and used his pen effectively in the Whig service.

The death of his friend Winnington in 1746 caused him to seek a diplomatic post abroad. His friends were in office and he was made minister to Saxony and Poland. The last two-thirds of the biography deals with his diplomatic career. A knowledge of French and German enabled him to make use of his extraordinary charm of personality and ready wit in his country's service. Wherever he went, he made friends who secured for him valuable information. Possessing great ability to estimate the character of people he met, Sir Charles's brilliant reports which are frequently quoted, make interesting reading. In 1850 he was transferred to Berlin where he stayed less than a year, repaying Frederick the Great's slights by bitter castigations in his reports to the home government. With occasional visits to England and one to Vienna Sir Charles remained at his former post at the Saxon court from 1751 to 1755.

Promoted to the post of ambassador to Russia (1755), he arrived in time to take an active part in negotiating the treaty of subsidy and alliance by which the Tsarina of Russia was to send an army to protect

Hanover from Prussian attack. This great achievement was rendered of little value by the change in British policy to alliance with Prussia. When he went to Russia, Sir Charles took with him as his secretary the young Stanislas Poniatowski with whom he had formed a very close friendship. This ability to make friends with the young men whom he served as a faithful mentor was one of the finest of the ambassador's traits. The young Pole was most devoted to Sir Charles. While Poniatowski's liaison with the Grand Duchess Catherine was developing, the ambassador was likewise cultivating her friendship so as to have ample means of getting information about what went on at court and to secure the lasting good-will of the Russian government when the Grand Duke Peter should succeed the Tsarina. The friendship of the middle-aged ambassador and the grand duchess in her twenties ripened until their relations were almost those of father and daughter. She sought his advice on almost every problem. During the last six months of 1756 letters, many of them long ones, passed very frequently between them. The next six months are also covered by the correspondence but less fully. Sir Charles took the precaution to send Catherine's letters back with his answers and retained only copies.

This extremely interesting correspondence comprising one hundred and fifty-seven documents in all remained hidden for over a century, then turned up in Russia, and was finally published in 1909 by the Tsar's authority. With the present English translation are included a number of letters of Poniatowski and others connected with the negotiations which one is thus enabled to follow closely. For the most part the letters to Catherine are addressed to "Monsieur" as if the recipient were a man. The Grand Duchess trusted Sir Charles implicitly, knowing that the secret information she passed on would be used only for good, and he advised her frankly to the best of his ability, confident that, when her husband succeeded to the throne and she became the controlling force at court, through their friendship British influence would be dominant and the French have no standing at St. Petersburg. The Tsarina's health was so bad that it appeared that death might come at any time, though as it turned out she outlived Sir Charles several years.

The story of the negotiations in which Sir Charles participated is told carefully, the information being drawn not only from various collections of letters and family archives but from the correspondence in the Record Office and British Museum, the archives of the French ministry of foreign affairs, the "Recueil des Instructions", and various memoirs of the time, to which numerous foot-notes are appended. Much detailed history is given with fair accuracy and the picture of an eighteenth-century diplomat's life and work is interesting. But the manuscript records in Germany and Russia appear not to have been used, and specialists in diplomatic history will find no extensive new light thrown on major problems.

The make-up of both volumes is very good, including a number of excellent illustrations, and the volumes should find a place in large libraries.

CLARENCE PERKINS.

The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III. By L. B. NAMIER. Two volumes. (London: Macmillan Company. 1929. Pp. xii, vi, 616.. 30 s.)

STUDENTS of English political history of the eighteenth century have long recognized that it evaded description by all the catchwords and formulae available. The "rotten part of the constitution", the "unreformed House of Commons", the "Venetian constitution", "government by faction"—all have left unexplainable residues. As Mr. Namier justly protests, we have drawn up an indictment against a whole parliament on a gossipy remark of Horace Walpole. Mr. Namier's method is different; he has set himself the task of a scientific analysis of how a single parliament, that of 1761, was constituted. He has been indefatigable in his search for sources. He has used the Newcastle Papers, the other pertinent manuscript materials, and county and borough histories without end, to analyze the influences that determined the choice of each member. He has presented his conclusions in summary form with certain longer and detailed studies of boroughs which he considers typical. As a result he has left one reader, at least, feeling, for the first time, that he can generalize on really adequate data regarding the English political system of the eighteenth century.

At the outset Mr. Namier correctly sees that to carry on government under the parliamentary system the Crown required two supports. It had to be sure of a friendly majority in the House of Commons, and it had to have leaders willing and able to support the government measures and to combat the keenest minds of the opposition. "The real leader counted for at least as much in the scales as the 'voting herd'" (p. 12).

This fact established, the question of the various elements which made up a House of Commons recurs. The knights of the shire were chosen (p. 83) by an electorate of 160,000 voters; but in practice the landed gentry dictated the votes of their tenants. As Mr. Namier sums up, "the landed gentry was the deciding element in most county elections, though a certain number of seats were conceded by them to the great noble houses"; the members so chosen were extremely sensitive to the wishes of the gentlemen to whom they owed their election. They were usually honest, inarticulate, and in opposition to the government (pp. 9-10). For the boroughs, Mr. Namier has classified exactly (pp. 176-180) the patronage of Lords and Commoners as it stood in 1761. His classification distinguishes between boroughs in which the simple nomination of the patrons was equivalent to election and boroughs in which interests had to be carefully manipulated. He finds that 51 peers could nominate to 41 seats and could exert influence in the choice of some 60 more members, and that 55 Commoners could determine or influence the election to 91 seats (p. 181). The traditional large holdings of the Whig magnates become insignificant when subjected to this analysis. The Duke of Newcastle had control or influence over but seven seats; Lord Edgcumbe and Viscount Falmouth controlled, each of them, five

Cornish seats. Eliot controlled six, and John Buller four Cornish members. Two Lords controlled four each, and seven other persons, Lords or Commoners, had control or influence over three each.

There were certain treasury boroughs, especially the seaports where the interests of the admiralty or other government offices were dominant. Certain others, the burgage type especially, were absolutely in the power of patrons. In some the choice depended on a balance of government interest and the interest of one or more private individuals. In very many boroughs there was a working agreement by which one patron would choose one member and another the other. Many boroughs had to be "nursed" by the patrons and nursing was a most expensive affair. The voracity of the voters was very great and had to be appeased year in and year out. "'Corruption' was not a shower-bath from above, constructed by Walpole, the Pelhams, or George III., but a water-spout springing from the rock of freedom, to meet the demands of the People" (p. 128). Occasionally a nursed borough would revolt from its patron or openly seek a city candidate with a full purse. Actually the sums of £1500, £2000, £3000 paid by the government to borough patrons for the use of seats for which the patrons had no present occasion, very often paid only a small proportion of the expense of nursing the borough. The borough patron's real reward came in offices of honor, steps in the peerage, etc.

In this connection by a careful analysis, item by item, of Newcastle's secret service accounts, Mr. Namier disposes of the theory that bribery and buying of seats from secret service funds was the means by which the government got its majorities. Some money was paid out toward the election expenses of government members; some money was paid in the form of pensions and donations to impecunious political beggars, as often from motives of charity as for any regard to their political weight. But the secret service funds were insignificant beside the stakes which private interests laid down in the game of borough management.

From another angle Mr. Namier takes up the types of men who sought seats in Parliament. He presents genealogies of families that for three centuries monopolized certain seats. Beside the country gentlemen, he distinguishes the patricians, social climbers in search of coronets, persons desiring to trade support for lucrative places to be distributed in their families, soldiers and sailors who held seats to help insure their speedy promotion, holders of subordinate places in the government, perhaps 40 lawyers, and merchants and bankers in search of lucrative contracts. Contracts for rationing regiments on distant posts were plums sought after by merchants trading to those parts. Of 21 merchants holding these contracts in 1764, 16 were members of Parliament.

Mr. Namier's volumes contain also an elaborate dissection of the politics of Shropshire and its boroughs in 1761, an analysis of typical Cornish boroughs, of two treasury boroughs, Harwich and Orford, and sketches of four "parliamentary beggars". As an appendix he prints in full the secret service accounts, 1754-1756 and 1757-1762.

Mr. Namier's book is an invaluable contribution to the study of British politics not only for its own period but for half a century before and after its dates. When similar analyses are constructed of other typical parliaments from 1604 to 1830, our generalizations as to the working of the British political machine may for the first time become really worth while.

T. C. P.

Weltbürgertum und Nationalstaat: Studien zur Genesis des Deutschen Nationalstaates. Von FRIEDRICH MEINECKE. (Munich and Berlin: R. Oldenbourg. 1928. Pp. xii, 558. 18.50 M.)

A PEOPLE is judged by the books it reads quite as much as it judges those books. The German reading public has earned high praise by consuming seven editions of Professor Meinecke's volume. That fact is a great compliment to their discrimination and a proof that they are deeply interested in the realities of their political life even when treated historically and philosophically. No ordinary people would read with zest a book that is so out of the ordinary in subject, substance, and style.

And the author is no ordinary historian. Professor Meinecke is one of the most distinguished minds of the last thirty years in Germany. As an historian he has contributed especially to two periods in German-Prussian history, the period of the Stein-Hardenberg reforms and the Wars of Liberation, through his brilliant life of General von Boyen and his brief and unmatched account of this period in the *Monographien zur Weltgeschichte*. Both are models of historical scholarship and of literary style. The second period is that of the revolutionary years 1848-1849 as displayed in his work on Radowitz, the statesman who had Bismarck's idea of German unity when Bismarck, as a Prussian junker, was fighting for nothing but the Prussia of Frederick the Great.

It would be easy to say that this book grew out of study in these separated eras and is an attempt to bridge the gap between them. That is true so far as the book follows a chronology. But Meinecke is only in a subordinate sense interested in stringing together a series of years or decades. He is a political philosopher who uses the technique of the historian to find the historical facts, broadly interpreted, that will explain the genesis, development, and present state of problems vital to the life of states and nations.

So brilliant and many-sided a mind as Meinecke's has here produced a book, the main theme of which can be quite differently conceived by different readers, and differently phrased by the same reader after he has read the first chapters and again after he has read the last chapters and the appendix to this seventh edition.

To one interested in the history of ideas and culture it presents a picture of the carry-over of eighteenth-century cosmopolitanism into the nineteenth, and its gradually losing battle with nationalism, to which it yet contributed this super-individualism. It searches in a brilliant chapter for the roots of the political thinking of men of action like Stein,

Hardenberg, and Humboldt. It traces, through the utterances of philosophers and publicists like Novalis, Fichte, Schlegel, Adam Müller, Hegel, Haller, and Ranke, the evolution of German thinking on the relations between the Prussian "state-nation" and the German "culture-nation". It shows their varied views not viewed in closets but battling in the forum of opinion and political action. This is worked out with cogency and thoroughness in considering the conservative romantic group around Frederick William IV., and is carried over through the discussion of Hegel and Ranke to an understanding of the genesis of the political ideology of Radowitz and Bismarck.

What the historian would see in the whole book and increasingly evident in the latter part is a grappling with the "Deutsche Frage" in its second form. We are forever saying that the German question, the question of whether two world powers, Prussia and Austria, could be combined in Germany, and, if not, which was to take the leadership, was settled in 1866. What Meinecke reveals is another stark question behind that, whether there could be a Germany with *one* world power in it when that state was Prussia including four-fifths of the North German Confederation from 1866 to 1870 and two-thirds of the *Reich* since 1870. That second question was perceived and stated as early as 1831 by Paul Pfizer, and it is no minor service of Meinecke's to have given this able publicist his historical due. For this second German question no answer has as yet been found. Not by Bismarck nor by the Weimar constitution of the new republic.

The high point in the volume from the standpoint of historical research and interpretation is in the almost monographic treatment of the struggle of the Frankfort liberal nationalists led by Heinrich von Gagern to get Prussia absorbed and dissolved in a national German state before Prussia had made a constitution for herself and thus set up a duality that was death to any real union. The answer of Frederick William IV. was really given in the decreed (oktroyierte) constitution of December 5, 1848. Prussian conservatism found that more palatable than absorption as eight provinces in a German empire. That constitution really ended the hopes of Gagern and his group and it ensured the persistence of the unsolved German question as we know it today. Meinecke gives in the reprint of his article on "The Prussian-German Question in 1921", pp. 542 ff., some suggestions for repairing the failures at Weimar to solve it. The foot-notes of this edition and the text when compared to the first edition are evidence of the great stimulus the book has been to research and discussion on almost every topic it has touched. A whole shelfful of monographs and articles has been called forth by the acute and challenging treatment Meinecke has given to men, movements, and schools of thought. No one can deal with Prussian-German history since Frederick the Great without reckoning with this volume.

GUY STANTON FORD.

La Province pendant la Révolution: Histoire des Clubs Jacobins 1789-1795. Par L. DE CARDENAL. (Paris: Payot. 1929. Pp. 518. 40 fr.)

M. DE CARDENAL'S book, the result of long years of work in departmental and communal archives, and of extensive reading of articles and monographs in local history, must be read by all students of the French Revolution. Such a synthesis of the individual histories of the provincial Jacobin clubs has long been needed. Furthermore, this book is a necessary source-book for all interested in political behavior, in the technique of revolutions, in the working out of ideas in politics. M. de Cardenal's study is divided into four parts: a description of the origins (the literary societies, free-masonry, etc.), personnel and internal organization of the clubs; a roughly chronological account of the part played by the clubs in the great events of the revolution; an analysis of Jacobin ideas; a description of "les moyens d'action", in which the meaning of Jacobinism as a form of political tactics is brought out. The task of integrating so many diverse elements as these hundreds of clubs, each with a personality, with social, geographic, and psychological characteristics of its own, is very great, and M. de Cardenal has been markedly successful. The fourth part, on the methods of action, is certainly for the present a definitive account of Jacobin propaganda, of the influence of the clubs on elections, of their relations with the *autorités constituées*. The work is obviously inspired by the modern tendency, in dealing with the French Revolution, to counteract past emphasis on the central government by a study of social and economic changes not only in Paris, but in the whole of France. The book is well put together, and very free from errors of printing. Its timeliness and other merits are so clear that we shall do better to pass at once to a consideration, not so much of its defects, as of its omissions.

In the first place, M. de Cardenal's decision to do without foot-notes seems, in a work of this sort, unwise. He is amply justified in wanting for his book a wider public than that of the professional historians. But the foot-note alone is not responsible for the failure of general readers to follow the work of many modern historians; surely no one ever turned away from Gibbon or from Lecky because of their foot-notes. In particular, M. de Cardenal, in fairness to other students, should have given exact references to his archival material. Only a fellow worker in the field can know how great has been the author's use of manuscript sources.

Again, though M. de Cardenal's announced purpose is to reconstitute the history of the *provincial* clubs alone, he is of course obliged to bring in the Paris club in relation to its daughter societies. Surely the work would have been more valuable had its subtitle (*Histoire des Clubs Jacobins*) announced its main purpose, and Paris and the provinces been balanced in a study of the clubs as a political organism. Partly because of this uncertainty of emphasis, the reader finds no clear answer to the question, just what is meant by Jacobinism. M. de Cardenal's method,

and his honesty, save him from the simplicities of Taine; but his knowledge of detail is so great, his qualifying statements so many, that his final generalizations do not impress themselves.

The treatment of Jacobin ideas is the most inadequate part of the book. "Obligés de lutter, ils durent renoncer à édifier", says M. de Cardenal of the Jacobins (p. 502), and the phrase might sum up the life work of Professor Aulard. But it is still true that the Jacobins were fighting for something. That something is insufficiently explained as "pour les chefs la conquête du pouvoir, pour les comparses une des formes de la lutte pour la vie" (p. 506). If Jacobinism is merely a tactics, M. de Cardenal has defined it adequately; if it is also a political programme, if it has a platform and a faith, then he has not done so.

CRANE BRINTON.

Empire and Commonwealth: Studies in Governance and Self-Government in Canada. By CHESTER MARTIN, Head of Department of History, University of Manitoba, Canada. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1929. Pp. xxii, 386. \$5.00.)

British Colonial Policy and the South African Republics, 1848-1872. By C. W. DE KIEWIET, M.A., Ph.D. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1929. Pp. xvi, 317. 12 s. 6 d.)

THE first of Professor Martin's studies deals with the old colonial system as it operated in the original British colonies in America, including Nova Scotia. The position of, and the political situation in, Nova Scotia supply material for a discussion of "the Second Empire" and for tracing the origins of responsible government in the colonies. Canada under the Quebec Act receives a good deal of attention, and the struggle for responsible government in Canada, 1839-1854, is treated quite fully. As an epilogue Professor Martin describes some of the essential features of the British Commonwealth of today.

The research is confined to the colonies of North America. Parts of the story have been told often; but Professor Martin's narrative is greatly enriched by his own investigations. In the treatment of Nova Scotia he breaks practically new ground, and no other study of the constitutional conflict in Canada from Sydenham to Elgin is based so largely on private papers.

Dr. de Kiewiet's book maintains the high standard of scholarship that we are accustomed to find in the Imperial Studies (of which this is number 3) edited by Professor A. P. Newton. The treatise rests on the safe foundation of extensive research, and first-hand knowledge of South African problems. It is well documented and well written. The subject is approached from an imperial point of view, but the author appreciates fully the dynamic forces at work on the frontier, and he has benefitted by studying Professor F. J. Turner's essays on the American frontier.

Dr. de Kiewiet shows how the desire for economy as well as humanitarian and missionary influences tended to shape the policy of the Colonial Office; how land hunger, racial animosities, the exploitation of the natives, and the presence of lawless elements affected the situation in South Africa; and how the slow means of communication and the private views of governors altered imperial policies and helped to direct the course of South African history.

Both books are excellent examples of painstaking research, careful weighing of evidence, and judicious presentation of conclusions. They reveal interesting contrasts in points of view and methods of approach. Professor Martin views the larger theme from his thorough acquaintance with particular local conditions, while Dr. de Kiewiet turns to imperial needs and imperial experiences for his elucidation of what took place in South Africa, 1848-1872.

Some of the minor defects noted in both works may perhaps in part be attributable to the authors' methods of approach. Professor Martin ignores the claims of Barbados when he speaks (p. 151) of Nova Scotia as possessing the oldest assembly of the second empire; he overlooks the experience of the Cape Colony when he says (p. 342) that South Africa leapt "into selfgovernment like Minerva full-armed from the head of Jupiter"; he fails to recognize the efforts of Australian colonies and of Sir William Molesworth when he asserts (p. 331) that "no attempt has ever been made to define [the scope of responsible government] by legislation"; and he violates well-known facts when he states (p. 316) that Gladstone, among others, was "obsessed by the mechanics of colonial government" and "saw no interest in preserving the colonies". Likewise it must be admitted that Dr. de Kiewiet is inconclusive in his treatment of the attitude of the Boer population towards the abandonment of the Orange River Sovereignty in 1854; and that he omits discussion of the pressure exerted by London financial interests when he treats the annexation of the Diamond Fields. Researches of others could have been more extensively used by both authors. The usefulness of their works would also have been increased if Professor Martin had added a bibliography to his studies and Dr. de Kiewiet had aided his readers by one or more maps.

PAUL KNAPLUND.

After Thirty Years. By the Rt. Hon. the Viscount GLADSTONE, P.C., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., G.B.E. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1929. Pp. xxvi, 457. \$7.50.)

AFTER thirty years it is unfortunate that a book like this should be written. Viscount Gladstone, stung to the quick by slighting remarks about his father, has dashed to the defense with more warmth than understanding. *W. E. Gladstone needs no defense. His name and memory already tower high above that of any nineteenth-century English statesman.* It is both futile and undignified on the part of his son to enter

into the journalistic arena, there to exchange buffets with that most charming of modern popularizers, M. Maurois, and to reply to gossip stories retailed more frequently for their piquancy than out of malice.

What Gladstone does need is elucidation. John Morley's biography obscures the character of its hero by sheer weight of many words. The cameo-like sharpness which distinguishes Morley's *Voltaire* and his *Rousseau* are lacking. Gladstone was an individual and a man, not an institution and an epitome of mid-Victorianism; and as such he still lacks a competent biographer.

Viscount Gladstone has three faults as a historian. He does not seem to know what facts are important and what are not; he insists on surrounding his father with a halo; and he writes as a party politician, ever ready to chide Tories and to praise Liberals. To illustrate the first tendency one may cite his elaborate refutation of the story that the Gladstone family made money by selling the chips from his father's wood-chopping. Why devote space in a brief book to this; or a whole chapter to Mrs. O'Shea, an overwrought woman who wrote hastily, passionately, and without balance concerning her love affair with Parnell? Her book never has been taken seriously by students of Irish history. It is certainly unnecessary to describe the exact dimensions of the Prime Minister's room at 10 Downing Street and the location of the furniture to controvert Mrs. O'Shea. Any intelligent person would discount the poor lady's story upon reading her book.

Gladstone would also appear to better advantage without the halo. It is the halo business which has hurt his memory and has concealed the man. From the beginning of his career he was courageous, intelligent, and devoted to the public good; and towards its close his mind broadened and his spirit sweetened in a way both superb and unusual. Surely these facts offer sufficient basis for praise. Yet the viscount will have that his father was not verbose. But where in history could one find an orator who was more verbose? A glance at Hansard for 1880 should settle that point for his most ardent admirer.

It would also seem inadvisable to grow indignant at the imputation of casuistry and self-deception (pp. 69-70). The Prime Minister can scarcely escape both charges. This is easily proved by the speeches of 1881 on the Irish Land Act. Gladstone held in line the more conservative members of the Liberal party by proclaiming loudly and incessantly that the Act of 1881 was only an amendment to the Land Act of 1870. Nevertheless the former brought into effect the *three F's*, hitherto held anathema as radical innovations, and their inclusion revolutionized the Irish Land laws. It would seem, in this instance, that Gladstone either practised self-deception or casuistry.

The intellectual interests of the Prime Minister are well known. He was a serious student of divinity and of the classics. He was not, however, a scientist, and his disputations with geologists and biologists are valueless. Why must the viscount defend his father's scientific reputa-

tion, when he did not have any, by stating that "on the specific gravity of alcoholic liquors he could speak like an expert". Everyone knows that Gladstone was an excellent Chancellor of the Exchequer and as such familiar with manufacturing processes. Such knowledge was of no avail when he crossed swords with Huxley.

On the other hand there is not much to be said for Gladstone as the friend of the workingman. The viscount is distressed because Morley dismisses in a few words his father's intervention on behalf of the coal whippers of London. This act of the father seems to the son to prove the former's interest in the industrial classes. Gladstone was in public life for over sixty years. If the slightly improved condition of the London coal whipper is the major evidence of his concern for the workingman the viscount might better have relied on Morley's judgment.

The viscount, moreover, constantly overpraises the Liberal party. On page 166 we are assured that the years 1880-1885 "sounded the death knell of eighty years' coercion in Ireland". But subsequent to these years coercion acts of the stiffest character were passed, time after time. On page 232 we are told in regard to South Africa from 1880-1881 that "there was no vacillation". This is an exaggeration. Gladstone became Prime Minister in April, 1880; the republican flag was not hoisted in the Transvaal until November; and Majuba Hill was not stormed until February, 1881. Harassed as the Gladstone Cabinet was in 1880 it should have been possible to formulate a South African policy in six months.

The most valuable part of this book, that dealing with the relation of Gladstone to the queen, contains extracts from Gladstone's diary and an important exchange of letters with Lord Balfour, all hitherto unpublished. In these pages the viscount attacks the way in which the *Letters of Queen Victoria* have been edited, and particularly volume III., thereby challenging Professor Bell's judgment as given in the April number of this review. The viscount holds that Mr. Buckle, as editor, has consciously and unfairly created an anti-Gladstonian atmosphere. He gives evidence to show that the relations between the queen and Gladstone were good and friendly, down to 1876, and that by 1880 Gladstone reported a complete change, due to Disraeli. Mr. Buckle, according to the viscount, has omitted much of the queen's correspondence which should have been included and has included much which should have been omitted, especially the Wolseley letters. "But nothing mattered to the impartial editor", we are told, "so long as he was able to publish something derogatory to Mr Gladstone" (p. 369). This indictment of Mr. Buckle's *bona fides* does not seem very well substantiated by the rambling pages which the viscount devotes to it. So serious, however, is the charge that one wonders why the Gladstone family do not feel at liberty to publish further documentary evidence to support it. They have at Hawarden 577 letters from the queen and almost as many more from Sir Henry Ponsonby. Historians await their publication.

WALTER PHELPS HALL.

My War Memories. By EDUARD BENEŠ. Translated from the Czech by PAUL SELVER. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1928. Pp. 512. \$7.50.)

EARLY in 1915 a young Czech professor armed with a passport no longer valid crossed the Austrian frontier into Bavaria, crawling through thickets to escape the gendarmes. Making his way to Switzerland, he joined an older professor who had been warned not to return to Prague lest he be arrested for treason. Three years later Dr. Beneš "was sitting with the representatives of France, Great Britain, the United States, Italy, Japan, Serbia, Greece, Belgium and Portugal to decide with them as to the fate of the Empires of Wilhelm and Karl, and to sign the terms of their capitulation" (p. 461), and Professor Masaryk, returning to London after circling the globe in the interests of the Czech cause, was received with diplomatic and military honors as the head of the state. Less striking, but scarcely less remarkable is the fact, not discussed in this book, that after ten years strewn with political casualties of wartime leaders, Masaryk is still the head of the state he did so much to liberate, and Beneš is at the head of the Foreign Office which he organized in 1918.

Personal triumphs, intrigues, the diabolism of enemies, and the exculpation of failures have no place in Dr. Beneš's memoirs as they have in the works of many of his contemporaries. This is, indeed, a personal record drawn for the most part from first-hand knowledge, but it is the record of the secretary general of the Czechoslovak National Council presented, like Masaryk's *The Making of a State*, as a contribution to the history of the Czechoslovak revolutionary movement. Contributions of others are to follow, but it goes without saying that the value of these two books will not be diminished by any number of works which may subsequently be written on this subject.

Dr. Beneš's book is not only a record but an example of his successful collaboration with President Masaryk. It fills gaps, supplies specific information, dates, names, and places lacking in the earlier work. There is a full account, for example, of the negotiations regarding the Czechoslovak forces in France which were carried on largely during Masaryk's absence. It tells of the work of the Mafia, of the difficulties of the Czechoslovaks in Russia before Masaryk's arrival there in 1917, and of their clashes with the Bolsheviks after his departure, of the organization of the colonies in America before 1918, of the historic meeting at Geneva with his delegates from Prague and of the Prague *coup d'état* of October 28.

Aside from these matters, and many others could be named, which concern chiefly his own nation, Beneš gives revealing sidelights on affairs in which other states were directly affected; on the Italian-Yugoslav question and the Rome Conference; on Allied intervention in Russia in 1918; on the peace moves, secret and open, and the efforts of the Czechs to defeat them; on the significance to the nationalities of the Dual Mon-

archy of the Clemenceau-Czernin-Karl controversy; on the "Károlyi armistice"; on the Austrophile policies of the Vatican. With regard to papal policy which he discusses with a tinge of asperity, Beneš says, among other things and without indicating the source of his information, that the Vatican endeavored "to induce the United States not to supply the belligerent countries with foodstuffs and munitions" and that it used its influence to prevent the American declaration of war (p. 242).

Of the work of his collaborators and friends—Štefánik, Osuský, Sychrava, Voska, Denis, Steed, Seton-Watson, and others—Beneš speaks with gratitude and generosity; of his opponents, even the clericals and Socialists whose opportunism gave comfort to the enemy, he writes without rancor. His account of his own achievements is rather like a report on the results of his mission, but the report corroborates Masaryk's observation that "as things developed Beneš grew". The success of the Czechoslovak National Council owed something to fortune and to the mistakes of its enemies, and much to the brilliant services of Štefánik and the faithful labors of others less known. But it owed most to the character, the vision, and the authority of Masaryk so splendidly seconded by the tireless energy and the clear mind of Eduard Beneš, who coördinated these varied elements.

This excellent translation by Paul Selver is an abridgment of the original, and in this respect is less satisfactory than the French version, *Souvenirs de Guerre et de Révolution, 1914-1918: la Lutte pour l'Indépendance des Peuples* (Paris, Leroux. 1929. 2 vols. 120 frs.). In preparing his version "specially with a view to the interest of English and American readers", Mr. Selver has omitted or condensed Beneš's philosophical and critical comment on situations and some of his characterizations of personalities; he has abbreviated accounts of meetings and omitted notes and documents which are of considerable interest. These omissions are minor ones, but they are omissions, and for this reason many to whom the original is not accessible will prefer the French to the English version.

H. H. FISHER.

History of the Great War Based on Official Documents. By direction of the Historical Section of the Committee of Imperial Defence. *Naval Operations.* Volume IV. By Sir HENRY NEWBOLT. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1928. Pp. xiv, 412. 16s.)

THE first three volumes of this elaborate work, to which the often abused adjective monumental may justly be given, were compiled by Britain's premier naval historian, Sir Julian Corbett, whose regretted life went out just after he had brought to an end volume III. (reviewed XXVII. 562-563). This volume brought the naval chronicle of the war through what may be called the period of great sea operations, ending

with the battle of Jutland. The present volume is the work of Sir Julian's successor, Sir Henry Newbolt, who, while modestly aware of the difficulties of wielding the pen laid aside by so gifted a chronicler, yet points out his enjoyment of two great advantages, first, the inheritance of the system built up by his predecessor, and, second, the services of a staff "trained by long years of efficient and enthusiastic coöperation". On the whole it is hard to see how the present writer compares unfavorably with his forerunner, since he possesses the one great talent, in chronicles of this kind, of collecting, arranging, and putting in clear narrative form a mass of detailed facts and incidents. The great bulk of this task precludes much opportunity to deal out praise or blame, and Sir Henry follows generally Sir Julian Corbett's lead in this.

That the British navy was busy in all parts of the world is graphically shown in this fourth volume. Chapter IV. (the Outer Theatres) deals with operations in East Africa and Lake Tanganyika, the Cameroons, Mesopotamia, the Baltic, the Mediterranean, the Adriatic, Serbia, and Salonica. Chapter V. describes the Bulgarian invasion of northern Greece and its consequences, the landings at Athens, and the submarine warfare to January, 1917. Chapter VI. is a stirring and well-written one, narrating the exploits of the intrepid German raiders *Moewe*, *Leopard*, *Seeadler*, and *Wolf*, which attempted to repeat the adventure of the *Emden* on a larger scale. Sir Henry chivalrously remarks that "no British reader will withhold his admiration from the fine seamen who commanded the four Raiders". Chapter VII., on the German naval policy, "brings us", as our author says, "to the true climax of the war, as we could not see before the publication of the German Official documents, the bare truth about the gambler's choice which the supremacy of the British Fleet was certain to force". The Germans were obliged to play their "last card", unrestricted submarine warfare, in spite of the fact that the civilian element, the statesmen in Berlin, was convinced that this act would inevitably bring into play the long-restrained hostility of America. The chapter ends with the entry of the United States into the struggle.

Chapters VIII. and IX. complete and sum up the account of the submarine and anti-submarine war in the Mediterranean and in British home waters during the earlier part of 1917. Sir Henry remarks that this was the most dangerous and perplexing time in British history. "The reckless progress of the final German effort had brought us nearer to privation than we had ever thought to be." He adds significantly: "Every reader of our narrative will know already that in our next volume we shall see one of the traditional methods of the British Navy adapted to meet the new crisis with complete and final success." We may forgive the author his easy use of the traditional "To be continued in our next" of a certain class of fiction, and look forward with interest to volume V. of this history.

Perhaps the most interesting portion of the present volume is the first three chapters, particularly chapter I., in which the results of the battle

of Jutland are summed up. Neither Sir Julian Corbett nor Sir Henry Newbolt will picture Jutland in any other light than a complete British victory. Sir Henry's detailed account of the tactical events of the fight and the tactical losses on each side is comprehensive, and, on the whole, reasonable, and just. Like Sir Julian, however, he looks no farther off than the scene of the battle, and is far from hinting that, with a fleet so much more powerful than the German, Jellicoe might have dealt German seapower such a blow as would have opened the Baltic and shortened the war by a year or more. Sir Henry quotes many British and foreign authorities on the battle, but says no word of the outspoken criticisms of excellent American experts, whose praise has gone almost entirely to the German commanders, and who feel that Jellicoe lost an opportunity which the Germans were careful never again to offer him.

Perhaps the weakest characteristic of this official history is the evident effort on the part of its authors to refrain from all criticism of British leaders, a point which has repeatedly been brought out in the several reviews of the volumes of this work. To be sure, in a chronicle written but a few years after the event, ripe and authenticated judgment would be venturesome, and the fact that this history is at least semi-official, compiled with the consent and aid of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty but with their express denial of any responsibility, must have lamed the critical desires of the compilers, if any such existed. The fact, however, that these volumes contain no hint of any criticism, even of the vaguest kind, of Churchill, Fisher, Jellicoe, or any of their subordinates, emphasizes the truth that this "history" is a chronicle, pure and simple. Its greatest weakness is that a reader not familiar with the war from other sources is bound to get an altogether too *couleur-de-rose* impression of the exploits of the British navy, fine as they generally were.

On the other hand the volumes possess one great and valuable attribute, namely, that they are the storehouse of historical details and first-hand experiences, which with each fleeting year would have become more difficult to secure. This phase of the subject is one not calculated to flatter those in power in our own services. The British Historical Section of the Committee of Imperial Defence was established, and began to function, long before the close of the war, and was from the first provided with a competent staff. By contrast the American army and navy neglected almost completely the collection of war chronicles and reports until the close of the war, when the breaking up of units made this task much more difficult. The Historical Section of the United States Navy, a branch of the Office of Naval Intelligence, begun under Rear-Admiral W. W. Kimball, retired, was not established until the close of the war, and, though working at first with a small staff of almost entirely untrained persons, it did excellent work, yet it was not taken seriously by the navy as a whole, and soon became one of the victims of the "economy craze" which cast its blight over everything so vague, and consequently so unimportant, as the nation's naval history. In spite of the efforts of men

like Senator Lodge to place the Naval Historical Section on an expert and creative basis, it sank, after the publication of a few well-written monographs, to the practical level of a filing-cabinet, valuable to be sure, even indispensable, but shorn of all creative functions.

Volume IV. is provided with eleven plans and diagrams in the text, and with fourteen contained in a separate case, all excellent in quality.

EDWARD BRECK.

Les Archives du Conseil de Flandre (Raad van Vlaanderen): Documents pour Servir à l'Histoire de la Guerre en Belgique. [Publiées par la Ligue Nationale pour l'Unité Belge.] (Brussels. 1928. Pp. lxvi, 551. 75 Belgian francs.)

WHEN in the autumn of 1918 the Germans were retreating and their civilian forces were preparing to evacuate Belgium, passports into Holland and Germany were hurriedly prepared to assist the flight of a small group of Belgians. These were the "activist" leaders, members of the extreme wing of the *flamingant* movement, who had been working during the war under German protection to break up the Belgian state and to set up an independent or autonomous Flanders. At the same time the archives of their *Conseil de Flandre* and its allied organizations were hastily packed off to Leipzig to prevent their falling into the hands of the outraged patriots. Eighteen months later during the disorders of the Kapp *Putsch* these archives disappeared. A Belgian professor learned of their whereabouts, the *Ligue Nationale* bought them, and—just how we are not told—the 42 chests of documents were spirited across the frontier into Belgium. The *Ligue* has now prepared French translations, usually résumés, of these documents written originally in Flemish or German and, filling gaps with material left by the Germans in Belgium, has produced this book.

It is a highly interesting volume. The résumés of long deliberative sessions of the *Conseil de Flandre* are so skillfully done that there is little dull reading; with the aid of an excellent introduction the story marches. Whether one regards the activist leaders as dastardly traitors or courageous patriots leading a sacred cause, Germany as the artful villain or a powerful, generous friend, one follows the unfolding of the plot with passionate interest. Here one sees the proud inaugural procession of the new Flemish university at Ghent passing on its way the first group of miserable workmen deported to Germany. Here it is a group of hand-picked activist leaders, many of them recent German appointees to the Ghent faculty, meeting in 1917 to proclaim the independence of Flanders and to form a council for the government of the new state—under the control of the Germans. Again it is these same leaders planning the deposition of the royal family as anti-Flemish, discussing a constitution, and coming almost to blows over the fateful question of the future of the new state; is it to be drawn into the orbit of Prussia or of Holland? In-

creasingly it appears that the activist leaders are being made the dupes of the Germans; one can not resist a feeling of sympathy and of admiration for Claus who, with a clear realization of this degradation of the *flamingant* movement, beards the imperial chancellor himself to defend the true independence of Flanders. In the plans of the most prominent activists the new state was to consist of all Flemish-speaking Belgium plus French Flanders. It was to be federated with Germany, whose troops should occupy the country for ten years after the war and whose navy should have a permanent base on the coast. It was to have a powerful executive, presumably a German *statthalter*, who could control the ministers and, through a nominated *conseil d'état*, the legislative bodies. It was to start with a clean financial slate, for it would recognize no debt incurred by the Belgian government to fight the Germans and would leave the entire pre-war debt to *Wallonie*, which had received too generous a share of Belgian public money. Incidentally this book, supplementing the documents published by Rudiger, adds much to our knowledge of German policy in Belgium. A second volume is promised to contain a bibliography of the activist movement.

Few phases of the World War are more interesting than that treated in this book; nor does it concern only the historians for the problems out of which grew the activist movement are as yet unsolved. Now that the economic and financial rehabilitation of Belgium is accomplished, the gravest task confronting the government at Brussels is to find a basis for understanding between the two elements in the state.

PAUL D. EVANS.

The Economic, Financial, and Political State of Germany since the War. By Dr. PETER P. REINHOLD. [Institute of Politics Publications.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1928. Pp. 134. \$2.00.)

THIS timely little volume on the state of Germany since the war merits careful reading. The author has been intimately associated with post-war reconstruction in Germany, first in Saxony, and later as minister of finance of the Reich. He writes with a good understanding of the international phases of the subject and with commendable objectivity.

In the first chapter he draws a vivid picture of Germany, crushed by defeat, staggering under peace terms she could only vaguely comprehend, and held down by the continuance of the economic blockade. The resultant conditions greatly favored the Reds, whose efforts to get control were not finally frustrated till Socialists and Centrists combined in the Constitutional Assembly at Weimar to give support and stability to the Republic. Furthermore, under the fear of extreme radicalism the assembly leaned over backwards in its provisions to safeguard the inviolability of private property. Despite this, however, the author claims the government of the new Germany is among the most democratic in the world today.

The story of the hectic financial ups-and-downs is told in a masterly fashion and with a deep feeling for the suffering it entailed. According to Dr. Reinhold the way for inflation was prepared as far back as August, 1914, when the imperial government suspended specie payment and decreed the acceptance by the imperial bank of treasury bonds as reserve against paper money. During the war German resources and credit were used up and stabilization of the currency after the peace became impossible despite earnest efforts. This was the more true because the exigencies of foreign politics, notably the occupation of the Ruhr, were in June, 1923, added to the domestic difficulties. From this time on the mark sank rapidly, despite one or two temporary checks, till it stood at four thousand billion to the dollar. When the appeal to the nation was made to support the Renten Mark, the dogged determination of the people to get back to a normal business basis carried the day; the new currency withstood the forces that threatened to batter it down; the mark was stabilized, and credit was re-established.

The author's discussion of the perplexing problems of reparation and war debts, at times a trifle technical, is clear and penetrating. The unwarranted delay in arriving at a fixed sum, the exorbitant sums demanded, and the political motives underlying the whole treatment of the question are reviewed with an objectivity that only occasionally reveals the intensely critical attitude toward the bungling diplomacy over post-war debts and reparations.

Germany's ability to pay the staggering reparation sums must depend, according to Dr. Reinhold, on effective "rationalization" and "standardization" of her industries, her transport system, and her public utilities. The successful efforts in this direction, supported by capital borrowed from abroad, chiefly from this country, have re-established Germany as a great producing nation and restored her purchasing power. At the same time, if it is to continue, and payments on reparations are to be made, Germany must export more than she imports. This can only be done if customs tariffs of other countries permit. But unless this is carefully regulated, it will result in the dumping of cheap German goods abroad and hostile tariff legislation will result.

The problem of transfer the author regards as the crux of the reparations plan. He sees the difficulties clearly, but, unlike Keynes, he refuses to accept the impossibility of the plan and points to paragraph 8 of section D of the Dawes Report in which, he thinks, the authors of the plan not only foresaw the difficulties but suggest possible solutions (p. 116). "Germany", he is convinced, "will effect her payments . . . punctually . . ." (p. 126).

On the interesting questions of the government of the new Germany and the political problems the material is so slight that one questions the wisdom of including the word "political" in the title. Even in economic matters where the government is concerned the treatment leaves much to be desired. Very little is said of the federal economic council provided

in the constitution and hailed a remarkable step forward in the creation of economic democracy. Little or nothing appears on the interesting coöperation between labor and capital or on the remarkable development of the *Kartells*.

WILLIAM E. LINGELBACH.

The Washington Conference and After. By YAMATO ICHIHASHI, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Japanese History in Stanford University. (Stanford University: the University Press. 1928. Pp. xii, 443. \$4.00.)

THIS volume gives an excellent summary of the proceedings and results of the Conference on Limitation of Armament and on Pacific and Far Eastern Questions, held at Washington in the winter of 1921-1922. Professor Ichihashi, being Japanese and attached to the Japanese delegation, has a sympathetic understanding of Japan's part in the conference. But, since he has for many years been a professor in an American university, he may also be regarded as able to appreciate American policy in respect to the problems of the conference.

The author's opinion that Great Britain had a part in the calling of the conference in so far as it concerned Far Eastern affairs is well grounded. The reviewer was attached to the American delegation and set forth the circumstances, as these were understood in the Department of State, in a volume published in 1923.

It is interesting to learn (p. 85) that domestic politics in Japan, after the regrettable death of Premier Hara, hampered the efforts of Baron Kato to come to agreement with the American and British delegations as to the non-fortification of certain islands in the Pacific. In the end, however, Kato carried his point.

Professor Ichihashi accepts the view that Japan's entrance into the World War (pp. 117, 118, 267) was due to "British pressure based upon the Anglo-Japanese Alliance". He regards the opinions of Hornbeck, Willoughby, and Reinsch opposing this view as "speculative and not historical". The reviewer during the World War was in charge of the correspondence of the Department of State relating to the Far East, and, since the matter, now after fifteen years, is one of merely academic interest, he seems bound to state that the archives of the State Department fully sustain the assertions of Hornbeck, Willoughby, and Reinsch.

Professor Ichihashi throughout the volume evidences a desire to get at the truth and to be strictly just. The Twenty-one Demands, as they are usually called, he characterizes (p. 289) as "the most serious diplomatic blunder which she (Japan) had ever committed". One circumstance that made the demands offensive to the American government was that the Root-Takahira Notes seemed to require consultation between Japan and the United States whenever any event threatened the *status quo* in the region of the Pacific, yet it was not until three weeks after the presentation of the demands that the Japanese ambassador called upon the

Secretary of State and left a memorandum dealing with the matter. Even then he mentioned but eleven of the demands and did not state those fully.

The author is entirely right in his opinion (p. 184) that the Open Door policy, as originally conceived, was not intended for the benefit of China, but to protect American interests within so-called spheres of interest. Secretary Hay's recognition of Japan's sphere of interest in December, 1900, when he sought approval at Tokio for his proposal to secure a coaling station at Samsah Inlet for the American Navy, to which the author refers, was noted by the reviewer in 1923 in the volume already mentioned. During the Boxer troubles, however, the American Policy of the Open Door was restated so as to include all Chinese territory and to give its benefits to China as well as to the nations having commercial interests there. It is true that this was intended to be a declaration of the attitude of the American government, as Mr. Ichihashi says, yet it is also true that the replies of the several governments showed a general concurrence in the policy outlined in so far as the territorial integrity and administrative entity of China were concerned, but the real importance of the declaration is that it became the model for similar declarations by various powers in treaties, one with another—the treaty of Alliance between Japan and Britain, the Anglo-German Treaty of October, 1900, the treaties between Japan and France (1907), and between Japan and Russia (1905 and 1907), and in the Root-Takahira Notes.

In discussing the Shantung Treaty (p. 278), Mr. Ichihashi refers to the secret treaty between Great Britain and Japan of February 16, 1917. He does not mention the circumstances which induced Great Britain to agree in that document to support Japan's claim to receive the German rights in Shantung. The reviewer was attached to the American delegation at the Peace Conference and can state of his own knowledge that on the day of the first plenary session of the conference, January 18, 1919, a member of the British delegation called at the office of the American commissioners and asked if they would join Great Britain in supporting the claim of Japan as to Shantung. The request was declined, whereupon the member of the British delegation explained that his government was bound by an agreement to give such support and that Great Britain had been compelled so to do because of the desire to receive Japanese aid against the undersea-boat menace in the Mediterranean, which could not otherwise be obtained. A similar statement was made by Lloyd George to President Wilson in the discussion of the Japanese claims by the Council of Three.

Mr. Ichihashi is rather unfortunate in quoting from S. G. Cheng on extraterritoriality. Mr. Cheng is quoted (p. 203) as saying of the Chinese: "They had no notion that the sovereign rights of a State included the rights of jurisdiction over foreigners within its dominion; and they deliberately refused to grant them any judicial redress. In con-

sequence, the right of extraterritoriality was exercised by foreign Powers on sufferance."

One has but to read the list of cases cited by Morse in his *International Relations of the Chinese Empire* to find that just the contrary was true, both in regard to the claim of jurisdiction and in the redress of the wrongs of foreigners. Even in the ninth and tenth centuries the Chinese authorities exercised jurisdiction over the Arabs and Hindus at Canton, although they appointed headmen from among the foreigners to aid in enforcing Chinese authority, just as the Dutch and Spaniards have done in appointing Chinese headmen to aid in the control of Chinese in the East Indies. In fact the Chinese arrived at the conception of sovereignty as territorial long before Europe did. They granted the exercise of extraterritorial jurisdiction after they had been defeated in war.

In spite of these comments Professor Ichihashi is to be congratulated upon having done a fine piece of work.

E. T. W.

War as an Instrument of National Policy and its Renunciation in the Pact of Paris. By JAMES T. SHOTWELL. (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Company. 1929. Pp. x, 310. \$3.50.)

The Peace Pact of Paris: a Study of the Briand-Kellogg Treaty. By DAVID HUNTER MILLER. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1928. Pp. viii, 287. \$3.00.)

It is an adequate review of the first book to give its title and to name its author. Since the formulation of the Treaty of Versailles Professor Shotwell has labored in the cause of peace, more abundantly and more effectively than any other American, and it is a peculiar pleasure to historical scholars to have one of their number make so forward and effective a use of his scholarship.

This book professes to be, and is, an analysis of the Paris Pact and a history of the diplomatic situation which evolved it. But the author sweeps his eye over the history of war as an instrument of national policy, reviews in detail the special national interests of the signatory powers, analyzes the reserves with which the Briand-Kellogg proposal was approached in the various foreign offices, and finally discloses the pressure of public opinion, which, in the various countries, hurried the hesitating steps of statesmen into action. Reading this narrative one realizes that however vague the phrase "outlawry of war" may be, however statesmen may desire force as either a diplomatic threat or an ultimate resort, democratic opinion in the world regards it as an expression of its hope and a good starting place toward the goal which it intends to reach. Even in America, where we have allowed a tradition of isolation to paralyze our appreciation of the realities of modern international life, Professor Shotwell records that Secretary Kellogg's proposal "gave expression to a public opinion which had become ready for the proposal before he made it".

The most important service the author has performed lies in the analysis of the language of the pact and of the accompanying explanations, reservations, and correspondence. Are the brief and general sentences of the pact "glittering generalities", mere unsanctioned expressions of a pious wish, or are they a vital covenant, imposing obligations, and, if the latter, do they affect foreign policy generally and American foreign policy in particular? No one has forgotten that senator after senator explained his vote in favor of ratification by the frank declaration that the pact meant just nothing at all! It is greatly to be hoped that such senators will attend Professor Shotwell's class in international law and morality, by reading his book. They will not be unduly alarmed lest they have been "beguiled unbeknownst" into joining the World Court or the League of Nations, for Dr. Shotwell goes no further in this very practical matter than to cite both Senator Borah and Mr. Kellogg to the effect that the treaty is in harmony with the fundamental principles of the Covenant of the League and stops short of committing the United States to any obligation to enforce it against any recalcitrant member. But they will be interested to discover that the treaty they have ratified integrates perfectly with all the anti-war machinery the world has set up: arbitration, conciliation, adjudication, and conference. They may be surprised to find that the pact entails a new definition of neutrality and makes it morally impossible for the United States to be a mere disinterested profit-taking observer in future wars. Senator Borah saw this and said: "It is quite inconceivable that this country would stand idly by in case of a grave breach of a multilateral treaty to which it is a party!" That is the strength of the pact. It is a multilateral treaty definitely abandoning war as an instrument of national policy and requiring the solution of all disputes and conflicts by pacific means. Signatories can no longer be neutral when they face nations which keep and nations which violate such a covenant. This changes the whole atmosphere of international relations and Professor Shotwell is wise in not seeking to draw ultimate conclusions. He has given the documentary record enriched with dispassionate comment and the consequences will take care of themselves. To the reviewer, as to the author, the record shows that we have made a long step forward.

Mr. Miller, in a much briefer book than that of Professor Shotwell, approaches the Paris Pact from the point of view of an international jurist. All the correspondence and documents are printed chronologically in an appendix, and for the most part the book is devoted to an exhibition of the processes by which M. Briand's suggestion of "a treaty of perpetual friendship" between France and America evolved into a definitive multilateral treaty renouncing war as an instrument of political policy. But it is more than a narrative of successive statements by statesmen. Mr. Miller was legal adviser in the American Commission to negotiate Peace at Paris in 1919 and throughout this work, as in his earlier book, *The Drafting of the Covenant*, he holds in his hand the thread of the

movement for international peace, of which the making of the Paris Pact is but an episode. To the author, as a jurist, the pact is an effective engagement; to the author, as a student of the evolution of the peace movement, the pact is not the votive resolution of a timid man in a thunder storm, but a peculiarly modern and peculiarly American way of making a fresh departure in an old and perhaps embarrassing subject.

Apart from the historical matter, which is authentically and interestingly set out, the "meat" of the book is contained in the three concluding chapters, *The Meaning of the Treaty*, *The Consequences of the Treaty*, and *Forever and Forever*. In these chapters emphasis is laid upon the second paragraph of the pact, which obligates the signatories to seek the solution of all disputes and conflicts only through pacific means. This, as a necessary consequence, remits the nations to the use of the only "pacific means" so far devised: arbitration, conference, conciliation, and adjudication, and therefore commits them to the development and perfecting of these means. To Mr. Miller this means that arbitration tribunals, international conferences, the World Court, and the League of Nations, all become of vital importance to the United States as the only means we have left for the solution of our international controversies, with the obvious implication that we shall soon manifest our interest by active coöperation.

In the last chapter the author points out that the Paris Pact is forever and forever! It has no time limit and makes no provision either for termination or for withdrawal. In the opinion of the author this is a limitation upon our Constitution. Congress no longer may declare war, at least except in the special case of self defense. This is not suggested to cast a doubt upon the validity of the treaty under the Constitution, as of course no lawyer would doubt the *power* of Congress to declare war tomorrow in pursuit of a national policy or for any other or no reason. But it does measure the profound meaning of this instrument, which the Senate has ratified, to realize that in the interest of international peace we have placed a moral prohibition upon one of the highest powers of Congress, a power used several times in our history in a way and for purposes now forever forsworn! But all progress calls for increasing surrender of the individual will for the common good, and it is clear that if international anarchy is to be replaced with ordered liberty it must be by applying among nations the principle which, alone, in nations makes progress possible.

NEWTON D. BAKER.

Far Eastern International Relations. By HOSEA BALLOU MORSE, LL.D., and HARLEY FARNSWORTH MACNAIR, Ph.D. (Shanghai: Commercial Press. 1928. Pp. xx, 1128. \$8.00.)

UNIQUE, valuable, and interesting is this new history of the international relations of the Far East. It is unique in that it consists for the most part of an abridgment of the scholarly three volumes by Morse: *The*

International Relations of the Chinese Empire, a work which is widely regarded as authoritative for the period up to 1911, the year which marks the end of the Manchu régime and the beginning of the Republic. Dr. MacNair has condensed and revised these three volumes; added much material on Japan, Asiatic Russia, Siam, and the Philippines; and brought the history of the entire Far East to 1928.

The work of abridgment is well done. The condensation is accomplished not by summarizing or paraphrasing the statements in Morse, but by omitting from his account sentences, paragraphs, pages, and sometimes whole chapters. On the average Morse's chapters are cut down by a half to two-thirds. The essential is retained; the amplifying detail is eliminated. What remains, so far as concerns the history of China to 1911, is generally expressed in Morse's own language. Practically no new material is added to the account as given in the first two volumes of Morse; after that modifications and additions are more frequent, recent studies being utilized, especially Dr. Tyler Dennett's two books, *Americans in Eastern Asia* and *Roosevelt and the Russo-Japanese War*, which are based upon State Department documents and the Roosevelt Papers. Morse is rich in foot-notes; MacNair uses them sparingly. This new book will not make the standard work of Morse obsolete. His three volumes will still be consulted by the specialist, but the great majority of those interested in the Far East will find the abridgment adequate and satisfactory.

In the parts of the volume for which Dr. MacNair has sole responsibility, about one-third of the total, he follows the general style and treatment of the sections which he has condensed from Morse. The various periods are well balanced; the essentials are clearly given; and the account aims to be fair-minded and impartial. But the recent history of China, especially its international relations, is almost impossible of presentation in a way to satisfy all parties, for intense emotions have been aroused by the events of the past few years. Dr. MacNair has already suffered from the criticism of ultra-patriotic Chinese. His Chinese publishers have recently withdrawn his volume from circulation, due, it is understood, to objections which have been raised to certain paragraphs dealing with Chinese Nationalism and its relations with the foreign powers. However accurate the author may be, it is obvious that an ardent Nationalist would not approve his account of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the May 30 Affair, the "Shameen Massacre", and extraterritoriality. The founder of the Kuomintang, whose memory is now almost universally revered, is described—at the time when he was leaving Canton a few months before his death—as "no longer admired or respected" (p. 1024); as to extraterritoriality, which Chinese insistently maintain is no longer justified, it is stated, "China in 1927 is but slightly better qualified to protect the lives and property of, and administer justice to, the aliens within her borders than she was in 1843" (p. 1020); and "from evidence and inference the presumption is" that the Chinese or their Russian

advisers—and not the foreigners on Shameen—fired the first shots which led to “the massacre” on that fateful June 23, 1925 (p. 1032). In view of the deep feeling regarding these events, the author might well have taken pains to point out at times the views of the Chinese, however incorrect or unjustified he may have judged them. The account of the May 30 Affair, for example, gives an Occidental no adequate appreciation of how Nationalist Chinese have thought and felt about it. But there is no excuse for forcing the withdrawal of a volume written by an outstanding foreign scholar. The offense is heightened by the fact that the author, upon the whole, is decidedly sympathetic with China. In fact, a Japanese nationalist might well claim that the relations between Japan and China, especially between 1915 and 1922, are written largely from the Chinese point of view. But as Dr. MacNair has pointed out in his preface, his effort to present these controversies impartially should be judged not by a few instances which may be criticized by one party or the other, but by his treatment of the entire history of each country concerned.

The volume is scholarly throughout, but in the excellent bibliography there are some important volumes not listed, which apparently have not been used. Among these are *Die Grosse Politik*, H. Foster Bain's *Ores and Industry in the Far East*, and P. B. Clyde's *International Rivalries in Manchuria, 1689-1922*.

G. H. BLAKESLEE.

A Short History of China. By EDWARD THOMAS WILLIAMS, M.A., LL.D., Agassiz Professor Emeritus of Oriental Languages and Literature, University of California. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1928. Pp. xviii, 670. \$4.00.)

China, Yesterday and To-day. By EDWARD THOMAS WILLIAMS. Fourth edition, revised. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell. 1929. Pp. xxiv, 743. \$3.75.)

IN spite of its modest title, Professor Williams has here written the largest history of China that has appeared in English for many decades. Coming as it does, moreover, from the pen of one with a long and distinguished record as a scholar and diplomat, it arouses high expectations. Here ought to be a volume which will set a new record of excellence in the American study of Chinese history. Perhaps because these anticipations are so high, the book is judged by more exacting standards than are applied to most surveys of China. Submitted to this test, it is distinctly disappointing. It is probably our best study of any length in English of the history of China and has obviously been compiled with much care, but its weaknesses make it a work of only average merit. In the first place, it is chiefly concerned with China's recent history and especially with China's intercourse with Western nations. Nearly three-fifths of the book deals with the period since 1800, fully a fifth with the years

since 1911, and in these sections the major emphasis is, not improperly, on China's relations with the Occident. An author is, of course, quite at liberty to fix his own proportions in his narrative, and those set here meet the demands of the average reader. This portion of the story, however, has been told several times recently and fully as well as, and perhaps better than Professor Williams has told it. He obviously wishes to be fair to all participants in the complicated events of these years and to be appreciative of the Chinese, but he repeats the traditional views of Western diplomats and merchants, especially on the earlier wars of China with the Powers, pointing out China's arrogance and making her chiefly at fault, and not sensing the possible debate over the question whether a sovereign state has not the right to keep its doors closed against foreigners and their commerce, and whether Great Britain and France were not even more arrogant than China. In the second place, Professor Williams seems singularly unaware of some of the outstanding results of scholarship and archaeology. He makes no mention of the striking discoveries of recent years of widespread remains in North China of a neolithic culture and of some traces of paleolithic man, although these must be taken into account in any discussion of the origins of the Chinese, to which he devotes a special appendix. He appears not to have used Maspero, *La Chine Antique* (Paris, 1927), by all odds the best account of China's ancient history which we possess, superseding all earlier handbooks on the subject. In his description (appendix I.) of the sources of Chinese history, he does not indicate the now well-established fact that the portions of the *Shu Ching* contained in what is known as the "ancient text" are clearly late fabrications, and that only the portions in the "modern text" are to be taken seriously. He gives, moreover, exact dates for the first two dynasties, to say the least a highly doubtful procedure. He pays no attention whatever to what recent Chinese scholars, following in the footsteps of the Han school of the last dynasty, have to say about early Chinese history and our sources of information concerning it—as serious an omission as though a writer of Roman history were to take Romulus and Remus as unquestionably historical personages. He appears to be unaware of what scholars have recently had to say about the introduction of Buddhism, and especially about the origin of the traditional account associated with the dream of Ming Ti. If he had taken advantage of Hail's *Tsêng Kuo-fan and the Taiping Rebellion* (1927), he would probably have given a different account of some phases of that revolt. In the third place, the book is lacking in perspective. Many facts and incidents are given and are interestingly told, but the reader misses their correlation into an integrated whole and is often lost in detail.

It is no easy task to write a good history of China, especially since in so many sections the necessary preliminary spade-work of special monographic studies has been but slightly performed. It is not surprising, therefore, that so excellent a scholar as Professor Williams has not been entirely successful and that we must hope for another and a better attempt.

The usefulness and success of the second, now well-known, work are attested by the fact that this is its fourth edition in six years. The author has now brought the narrative down to the close of 1928, has added a chapter on language and literature, and has made a few other changes—the most of them minor ones. The book continues to be what it has been since its appearance, the best extensive one volume general work on China that has appeared in English within a decade.

K. S. LATOURETTE.

A History of Christian Missions in China. By KENNETH SCOTT LATOURETTE, D. Willis James Professor of Missions and Oriental History in Yale University. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1929. Pp. xiv, 930. \$5.00.)

THE work of Professor Latourette is the fruit of a rich experience and a thorough research. After a brief introduction dealing with the religious background of the Chinese and the characteristics of Christianity, the author sketches the Nestorian missions, which left little trace in China because they were chiefly concerned with a foreign community. Then follows an account of the revival of Nestorian activity and early Catholic missions under the Mongols. Both of these movements disappeared with the Mongols.

The real missionary movement began with the work of the Jesuits during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries under the leadership of Ricci and his colleagues. The account is replete with dramatic interest. The development of national monarchies, their rivalries in exploration, the religious and cultural revival are drawn with skill. The missionary work is intimately connected with the European background. Its early success and its final failure are to be found not so much in China as they were inherent in the conception of Christianity and the political situation in Europe. A short chapter describes the establishment of the Russian Church, which shared the defect of other efforts based on national and political aspirations.

The greater part of the book is devoted to the description of the missionary enterprise in modern China. The subject is treated with a thoroughness which will make the book a mine of information for many years. The history of each missionary society at work in China is given in great detail. Mission methods and results are discussed critically, though sympathetically. The author does not hesitate to express his views on both Protestant and Catholic. Still his general conclusion recognizes the great value of the modern missionary movement to China.

The section on the T'ai Ping rebellion is based on recent studies which show that the real leader was not Hung Hsiu-Ch'üan, but a Hunanese, Chu Chiu-tao by name, who was the political organizer and brains behind the movement. The driving power behind this great rebellion was not Christianity, but was the rising nationalism of the Chinese. The resemblances to Christianity were quite formal. The significance of the

movement was in the fact that it opened up interior China to the missionary and the modern world. Professor Latourette places the missionary movement in the stream of world history. The development of nationalism, the revival of learning, the industrial revolution, the rise and fall of dynasties, the rebellions in remote parts of China are all related to this religious expansion of the West.

The book is well documented. The bibliography represents only a partial list of the works consulted. The work is not a mere reproduction of sources, but gives a connected story of this important development.

The work is significant not merely because of its size and its exhaustive character, but because it seems to mark the end of one epoch in the religious expansion of the West and the beginning of a new period. The period which it describes is that of propagation; the period which is just beginning may be called that of digestion and assimilation. Christianity is now being acclimated and tested by the standards developed by the Chinese people in the course of their long history.

The concluding paragraph expresses the spirit of the whole work: "In conclusion, then, the historian does not cease to be impartial when he declares that the presence and the labors of the missionary were most fortunate for China. Defects the missionary enterprise undoubtedly had. Sometimes it did evil. On the whole, however, it was the one great agency whose primary function was to bring China into contact with the best in the Occident and to make the expansion of the West a means to the greater welfare of the Chinese people. If, when the Chinese have finally adjusted themselves and their culture to the new age, the revolution through which they shall have passed proves to have been more beneficial than harmful, it will be in no small degree because of the thousands of Christian apostles who counted not their own lives dear that to the Chinese might come more abundant life."

LEWIS HODOUS.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations from January, 1722/3, to December, 1728; from January, 1728/9, to December, 1734, preserved in the Public Record Office. Two volumes. (London: H. M. Stationery Office. 1928. Pp. 481, 464. £1. 10 s. each.)

THESE volumes contain the minutes of the Board of Trade from 1723 to 1734, a period of twelve years, during which, as is commonly stated, the board was entering upon a time of deterioration, due in part to the inferiority of the men who made up its working membership and in part to the "pernicious influence" of the Duke of Newcastle. Newcastle became one of the principal secretaries of state in 1724 and, according to the current view, began at once to draw over into his office the chief business of the board. We are interested, therefore, to discover from

the volumes before us whether these statements are true. Was the board inactive during this period and was Newcastle interfering unduly in its affairs?

To each of these questions the evidence before us presents a decided negative. There was no cessation of activity on the part of the board and no undue interference on the part of Newcastle. Laxity in attendance was probably no greater than it had been during the previous decade, and at worst must be charged up against the general official attitude of the time and not be ascribed to any marked inferiority in the personnel of the board. Martin Bladen and Paul Docminique at this time were in no way inferior to William Blathwayt and John Pollexfen of the earlier period, nor was the Earl of Westmorland a less satisfactory presiding officer than had been either the Earl of Bridgewater or the Earl of Stamford. Plummer, Chetwynd, and Pelham were quite as competent as had been Meadows, Monckton, and Pulteney; and it must not be forgotten that this board has to its credit the selection, as its legal adviser, of Francis Fane, king's counsellor and one of the ablest lawyers of his day. There is no instance in these volumes of the members being reprimanded by the secretary of state for inattendance, as was twice done in 1709, when the board is supposed to have been exemplary in the performance of its duties. The meetings were regularly held, sometimes twice in one day, which was rarely the case in earlier years, and the attendance was fairly good. If the entries are more brief and the proceedings less elaborately recorded (and I am not sure that either statement is correct) something must be ascribed to the youth of the secretary, Alured Popple (entered "Alfred" in text and index of the second volume!), who began his duties in 1722. As Popple warmed up to his work, he displays a freer hand.

The business that came before the board was, on the whole, as varied as ever and in its way quite as important. That it does not bulk as large as during the twelve years after 1696 simply shows, I think, that in volume it was not as great as formerly. The flurries of 1696 and the wars that followed, ending in the Treaty of Utrecht, were over and the system was running smoothly. The problems to be solved were less spectacular, but more subtle and in some respects more difficult, and the board met them in nearly two hundred reports and representations, a number of which relating to trade are not entered in my printed lists for those years. Among these papers, drawn up by the board, are the very important reports on various aspects of the general state of the colonies made to the House of Lords and the House of Commons in 1732, 1733, and 1734, the last named of which was considered valuable enough to be printed at the time. These reports, which are no whit less notable than those of earlier years, were probably in large part prepared by the secretary and the clerk of the reports; and the fact that the latter was appointed in 1730 to meet the increasing demands upon the time and energies of the board is itself a proof that the plantation office was not losing any of its business.

The board performed a great deal of other important work also. It made the preliminary investigations for the Naval Stores Act, the Hat Act, the Debt Act, and the Molasses Act, and prepared the first draft of those measures. It began the long drawn-out inquiry into the whole matter of bills of credit, considered the boundary controversies between Massachusetts and New Hampshire, Connecticut and Rhode Island, Connecticut and New York, and Virginia and North Carolina, and assisted the Duke of Chandos and his friends in their effort to secure a title to the Equivalent Land—lying between Connecticut and New York—as the seat of a series of English estates within a separately erected county of New York. It had much correspondence with Connecticut and Rhode Island regarding the possible surrender of their charters and examined at some length into the effects of the disallowance of the Connecticut Intestacy Law. It helped to negotiate the surrender of the Carolinas and to complete the surrender of the Bahamas, both intricate transactions owing to the Granville reservation in the one case and the claims of the lessees in the other. It debated many difficult colonial questions, such as Shute's quarrel with the assembly of Massachusetts Bay, the perennial dispute with the colonies over duties on negroes and European goods, the Jamaica revenue act, the London shipwright's petition against colonial shipbuilding, the civil establishment for Nova Scotia (which conferred upon that fishery and conquered dependency the status of a colony), the proposed settlements in Maine, Nova Scotia, Virginia, and South Carolina (associated with the names of Coram, Dunbar, Keith, Stauber, and Purry), and the promotion of the colony of Georgia. It had the six-penny duty to look after, which was extended to the colonies for the first time in 1729; and it began the first hearings in the case of Fairfax and the Northern Neck, which was destined to be prolonged for sixteen years. In some respects most important of all, it concerned itself—often at great length—with the Newfoundland trade, trade with the Indians of New York, trade with Africa, Norway, Sweden, Russia, Spain, Portugal, Piedmont, and Sicily, the herring trade with Bremen, and commercial relations with Brussels and Hamburg. It corresponded with consuls abroad and received letters from them in return regarding trade conditions in particular places. This list of the board's activities is by no means complete, but it shows that the board was not without many accomplishments to its credit—accomplishments quite as noteworthy as those of the earlier years. In fact, if we include the well-known report of the year 1721 as falling within this period of "deterioration", I should rate the results of the board's activities as more fruitful than they were during the same number of years after 1696.

Newcastle's relations with the board from 1724 to 1734 were of a routine and comparatively trifling character. They were in no sense of the word "pernicious". I can not see that they differed essentially from the relations which in earlier years Shrewsbury and Vernon had had with the board. The one so-called innovation—the selection of colonial gov-

errors and deputy governors by the king, that is, by the secretary of state—was not new. The board had never selected the governors, and I doubt, despite their commission, if they had ever been expected to do so. Shrewsbury appointed Bellomont in 1697 and he and his successors continued to name the governors from that time on, only occasionally, in doubtful cases, inviting the board to express an opinion. This control of patronage, though it might be construed as an encroachment upon the legal powers of the board, was of no great significance. It did not affect in any way the main purpose for which the board was created, which was “to promote the trade of this kingdom and to inspect and improve [the king’s] plantations in America”. Newcastle did not name a governor until 1727, three years after he had received the seals, when he selected Hunter for Jamaica and Londonderry for the Leeward Islands; and his choice of men led to no visible decline in the quality of the governors. Hunter was a much better man than either Fletcher or Cornbury and Burnet was better than Shute. Belcher and Cosby were his most serious mistakes.

The board continued, as before, to draft practically all the instructions, to make all important inquiries, and to prepare all the representations and such bills for parliamentary action as came within its province. Once or twice the secretary drafted a separate instruction, which he sent to the board for inspection, but that had been done also by his predecessors. Except for the selection of the governors, he took into his own hands only what legitimately belonged to him, that is, matters relating to diplomacy and war. The board sent to him papers that appertained to these subjects, and Newcastle, in his turn, sent to the board letters, addresses, and petitions concerning trade and the colonies that he received in the course of his correspondence with the governors and others in various parts of the world. The secretary for the northern department did the same, so that in practice the lines between the offices seem to have been fairly well drawn. Three times only in twelve years did the board have reason to protest, which is rather a remarkable record, when we realize that the secretary for the southern department had the plantations under his care and could have intervened in plantation business if he had wanted to do so. Once when, without consulting the board, Newcastle named a colonial councillor, the latter warned him that he was trespassing on its privileges (1722–1728, p. 287), and Newcastle did not repeat the offense. Again, twice, it begged him to let it know what was passing through the secretary’s office in relation to the plantations (1722–1728, p. 349; 1728–1734, p. 154). Neither of these protests need be taken very seriously, for they arose from a certain amount of confusion as to the duties of two offices invested with similar functions at a time when the distribution of governmental powers was still in a state of flux.

The relations of the board with the Privy Council and the Council Committee were regular and unbroken, following the channels in use

since 1696. The committee referred scores of matters directly to the board, never, as far as I have observed, sending anything through the secretary of state. The board replied, not only furnishing information and submitting drafts of instructions, but also expressing opinions, offering suggestions, and proposing remedies in all sorts of cases. In fact, during these years, the Board of Trade had far more influence upon English legislation affecting trade and the colonies and upon English colonial policy in general than had the secretary of state. Too much has been made of patronage, which had little or nothing to do with policy, and far too much dependence has been placed upon the *obiter dicta* of such eighteenth-century writers as Horace Walpole and Edmund Burke. In drafting the general instructions, circular instructions, and additional instructions, preparing reports and representations, obtaining the opinion of their legal adviser on colonial laws, framing bills for passage in Parliament, and in general overseeing colonial administration, the Board of Trade during these years played a part far more significant in defining England's relation with her colonies than anything that could have resulted from its complete control of colonial appointments.

In view of the evidence furnished in these and previous volumes of the series, I believe that Dr. Dickerson and Professors Root, Basye, and Raymond Turner will need to revise some of the statements to which they have committed themselves in print. I will need to revise a few of my own, though from the beginning I have questioned the opinion that Newcastle before 1737 seriously interfered with the work of the board (see this *Review*, XVII. 842). Certainly Professor Basye can no longer say that "In other respects Newcastle was able to divert practically all colonial business to his office", or Professors Root and Turner contend that the year 1714 marks a change for the worse viewed from the standpoint of effective administration. In estimating the place of the board in the history of commerce and the colonies, we must take into account something more than patronage, personnel, and politics. Whatever may have been the situation from 1737 to 1748, which will have to be determined at some later date from a careful scrutiny of the minutes for those years, when finally they shall appear, the fact is clear from the evidence before us that until 1734, at any rate, the Board of Trade, viewed in the light of the administrative habits prevailing at Whitehall, was a useful and intelligent body, with its powers essentially unimpaired. It was often slow in the performance of business and some of its members took their duties very lightly; but everybody was slow in that day and few in high office were conscientious. The defects of the board were the defects of all administrative offices at the time, and that time dates not from 1714 but from 1689.

CHARLES M. ANDREWS.

The Southern Frontier, 1670-1732. By VERNER W. CRANE, Brown University. (Durham: Duke University Press. 1928. Pp. 391. \$4.50.)

To call this book an important contribution to the history of the Southern frontier would be an understatement, for it is virtually a recreation of the history of that region during the period that it covers. For some fifteen years Mr. Crane has been at work in this field gathering and digesting information from a wide variety of sources. While some of his conclusions have already been published in the form of articles in this *Review* and elsewhere, and while Heinrich, Bolton, and Swanton have given us valuable studies of the French, Spaniards, and Indians of this region, most of the material in the present volume is either new or freshly related. "The English colonial frontiers", writes Mr. Crane (p. vii), "have been strangely neglected." With the publication of this work his observation ceases to apply to that portion of the English colonial frontiers with which he deals.

The most interesting thing about the book is its demonstration that the Indian trade was the central theme of the history of this region from 1670 to 1732. By "the Southern frontier", the author means essentially South Carolina, including both the outer fringe of settlement and the province's sphere of influence, which was extended westward through the Indian country to the Mississippi by means of trade. During the period covered, which begins with the founding of South Carolina and ends with the founding of Georgia, South Carolina was the Southern frontier, for it was not only the southernmost outpost of English settlement but also the hub of the Southern fur trade. Although, as the author shows, South Carolina did not lose its frontier character or its control of the Indian trade immediately upon the founding of Georgia, the limits that he has chosen for his study are logical, since they correspond to important changes in the local situation.

The South Carolina Indian trade is exhibited in its manifold aspects and widespread ramifications. The account of its organization and functioning is unique and, in the opinion of the reviewer, one of the best features of the book. Not only does the author describe the mechanism of this important business with a wealth of illuminating detail, but he also makes a capital point in regard to the economic factors involved in the international conflict for control of it. This point (pp. 109, 115) is that "the southern trade was not properly a fur trade at all, but a trade in skins or leather", chiefly in deerskins; and that (quoting a contemporary authority) "Deer Skins the only Indian Produce are of more value in England than in France or Spain and in Consequence the Traders give a better price for them . . .". The great advantage that this economic factor afforded the British in their contest with the French and Spaniards along the Southern frontier is obvious, if we accept, as the reviewer does, the author's thesis that this was a fur trader's rather than a pioneer farmer's frontier, that the Southern Indians' alliance was one

of the chief determinants of European supremacy in this region, and that (as a general rule, with exceptions noted by the author) Indian trade and Indian alliances went hand in hand. Many other illustrations of the far-reaching influence of the Indian trade might be given. It played an important part in widening the breach between colonists and proprietors and in stirring up intercolonial rivalries, at the same time that it showed the need for intercolonial union and helped to shape British policy towards the West. Anglo-French rivalry in the trade led to the establishment of Fort King George (Altamaha) in 1721, to the renewal of the Anglo-Spanish controversy over Guale, and to the founding of Georgia in 1732.

It is to be regretted that Mr. Crane failed to make use of the manuscript material in the Spanish archives and based his account of Spanish relations almost entirely on the rather scanty printed sources and the secondary works of Bolton and other specialists. This is all the more regrettable since his study of English, French, and American sources was so thorough and productive. He explains his procedure by the statement that "from the close of the seventeenth century the great issue in the South was Anglo-French supremacy" (p. ix). This explanation is not entirely adequate, since nearly half of the period indicated in his title lies in the seventeenth century, and since even in the eighteenth century Spain's rôle, while subordinate to that of France, was by no means insignificant, as Mr. Crane himself has recognized by devoting a whole chapter to the Carolina-Florida Border, 1721-1730. In discussing the origin of the Yamasee War, he questions the truth of the charge that the Indian uprising was partly due to Spanish instigation (p. 167); but his foot-notes give no evidence that he examined the Spanish sources for information on the point.

Otherwise *The Southern Frontier* is notable for its fine scholarship and is indeed a model of its kind. There are two appendixes, showing the exports of deerskins from South Carolina and the prices of Indian trading goods (British, but not French or Spanish); a critical bibliography; a map of the Southern frontier; and an excellent 32-page index. The book is a credit to the Duke University Press as well as to Mr. Crane.

A. P. WHITAKER.

The American Experiment. By BERNARD FAY in collaboration with AVERY CLAFIN. (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Company. 1929. Pp. 264. \$2.75.)

THE brilliant author of *The Revolutionary Spirit in France and America* has written, in collaboration with an American, an interesting essay on American history and American society. As in the earlier work, the emphasis is on the fundamental and subtle psychology of the American people rather than on figures or facts. The authors are more interested in great movements than in individual leaders.

In contrast with so many other pictures of America through French eyes, from de Tocqueville to Siegfried, this book reaches a definite con-

clusion without suggesting the constant presence of any single thesis. Almost at the close, the authors decide that "the United States still remains the product of the first experiment at grafting a democracy upon a traditional society". Both democracy and federalism are interpreted as passing phases in the development of a people whose cultural roots were already deep in the soil of European history. These were tools in the conquest of a great empty continent—and federalism, at least, may still have its lessons and uses for a Europe shattered by war, even though its rôle in America itself seems so nearly ended. A unified America demands and challenges a Europe which is at least moving in the direction of unity.

The definitely historical section of the book is limited to three chapters and covers one hundred pages. These chapters, and especially the one which deals with the middle period in American history, are disappointing, and contain too many careless sentences to be quite convincing.

Passing over a few misprints, consider statements opposite which many historians would place question marks. "These men" (speaking of the Constitutional fathers), "the wisest and the strongest in the land, were hopelessly at odds" (p. 43). Is not Schuyler's view of the fundamental economic agreement of the authors of the Constitution more near the truth? Again, is it exact to say that the Constitution "creates a nation, since president and representatives are elected by the entire people", or that "it organizes a democratic elective system" (p. 44)? Did "the legislatures of Kentucky and Virginia pass resolutions affirming the right of states to withdraw from the Union whenever they saw fit" (p. 48)?

The authors (p. 63) ascribe to Jackson the measure for distributing to the states the revenues from public lands, when, as a matter of fact, this important bill originated with his rival Clay and was only signed by Jackson with evident reluctance. "Stephen A. Douglas wanted to be president" (p. 72), is given as the explanation of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, in spite of the rival theories of F. H. Hodder and P. O. Ray. Again, on the same page, the authors state that the principle of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill was "subsequently upheld by the decision of Chief Justice Taney in the Dred Scott case". If so, why did Douglas have to hedge so disastrously at Freeport?

The coördination between the work of the two authors is not always perfect. In general, the point of view is that of the French observer. It is, accordingly, somewhat confusing to pass from paragraphs in which the pronouns "we" and "our" refer to France to others in which the reference is clearly to America.

As to proportions, always a delicate problem in a brief historical sketch, what shall we say of a review of the general course of American history limited to one hundred pages, in which there is still space to give five to a rather detailed account of the "Molly Maguires"? Was not the incident itself quite exceptional and unusual, and for that reason, dramatic, rather than significant?

But in making such criticisms one must remember that the evident purpose is not to write a history, but to interpret American society today. When the authors touch on intellectual conditions in the eighteenth century, or on French ideas of America, and especially when they analyze life in contemporary America, they become shrewd and witty observers, having much to say that is wise and important. The chapter on "American Institutions", all the way from the colleges to the movies, is admirable—and will need to be read by the social historians of the future.

The volume would be better for an index.

ROBERT G. CALDWELL.

The Office of Indian Affairs, its History, Activities, and Organization. By LAURENCE F. SCHMECKEBIER. [Institute for Government Research, Service Monographs of the United States Government, no. 48.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1927. Pp. xiv, 591. \$3.00.)

THE series to which this volume belongs is now nearing completion. It is designed to give an account of the history, organization, and activities of all of the administrative services of the United States government. There are at present seventy-five such services, and fifty-five of the monographs have been published.

The development of the federal government since its organization has been, to a large extent, the development of its administrative departments. The expansion of the functions of the government has been marked by the creation of new bureaus, many of them dealing with matters the control of which by the federal government, or for that matter, by any governmental agency whatsoever, would have been unthinkable to the framers of the Constitution. The administrative machinery has become so vast and so complex that it has long been impossible for even the well-informed citizen to form any accurate idea of its manifold activities; and its rapid growth during the last generation has made reorganization and simplification, in the interests of economy and efficiency, a crying necessity. In a message to Congress in 1912, President Taft, in urging such a reorganization, said: "This vast organization has never been studied in detail as one piece of administrative mechanism. Never have the foundations been laid for a thorough consideration of the relations of all of its parts. No comprehensive effort has been made to list its multifarious activities or to group them in such a way as to present a clear picture of what the government is doing. Never has a complete description been given of the agencies through which these activities are performed. At no time has the attempt been made to study all of these activities and agencies with a view to the assignment of each activity to the agency best fitted for its performance, to the avoidance of duplication of plant and work, to the integration of all administrative agencies of the government, so far as may be practicable, into a unified organization for the most effective and economical dispatch of public business."

To provide the materials for such a comprehensive study of the administrative machinery of the government is one of the chief objects which the Institute for Government Research had in view, in undertaking the preparation of this series. In the foreword to the series this object is clearly set forth. "These studies are wholly descriptive in character. No attempt is made in them to subject the conditions described to criticism nor to indicate features in respect to which changes might with advantage be made. Upon administrators themselves falls responsibility for making or proposing changes which will result in the improvement of methods of administration. The primary aim of outside agencies should be to emphasize this responsibility and facilitate its fulfillment.

"While the monographs thus make no direct recommendations for improvement, they cannot fail greatly to stimulate efforts in that direction. Prepared as they are according to a uniform plan and setting forth as they do the activities, plant, organization, personnel and laws governing the several services of the government, they will automatically, as it were, reveal, for example, the extent to which work in the same field is being performed by different services, and thus furnish the information that is essential to a consideration of the great question of the better distribution and co-ordination of activities among the several departments, establishments, and bureaus, and the elimination of duplication of plant, organization and work."

To this purpose the monographs are admirably adapted, and it is to be hoped that their publication may hasten the reorganization of the administrative departments, which successive presidents have so earnestly advocated. But apart from any immediate and practical purpose which they may serve, these studies are certain to prove of great value to the historian. They make easily available an immense amount of historical material on the activities of the government which has never been so comprehensively presented before, and the extensive bibliographies will facilitate research in a great variety of subjects covering almost the entire range of federal activities.

The different monographs so far published vary greatly in length from that on *The Women's Bureau* of 44 pages to that on *The Office of Indian Affairs* of 591—but the presentation of material follows, with slight variations of detail, a uniform plan. The first section is devoted to a history of the service, the second to a detailed description of its functions and activities, and the third to a description of its organization. There follows an appendix containing statistics, financial statements, a compilation of the laws relating to the organization and activities of the service, and a bibliography.

The Office of Indian Affairs contains an admirable history of the relations between the federal government and the Indians, from the days when the United States was solemnly guaranteeing to the Indians "all their teritoreal [sic] rights in the fullest and most ample manner" to

lands in Pennsylvania and Ohio, to the days of the "Oil Indians" of Oklahoma. This most disgraceful chapter in American history is summarized with great restraint, and the author, in accordance with the plan of the series, does not permit himself to indulge in adverse criticism. But the facts speak for themselves; and our relations with the Indians, which were characterized as "a century of dishonor" by Mrs. Jackson in 1881, have been scarcely more creditable during the last half-century. Though there have been less brutality and fewer outrages of the kind which formerly awoke from time to time the conscience of the nation, and though more serious efforts have been made to place our relations with the Indians upon a higher and more altruistic level, nevertheless there have been instances of fraud and corruption on the part of officials, and, with the increasing wealth of some of the tribes, the swarm of individuals who make their living by preying upon the Indians' ignorance of business practices and legal procedure has increased rather than diminished. The apologists for our Indian policy have dwelt upon the inevitable difficulties produced by an expanding population pushing forward into lands sparsely occupied by a people of inferior culture. That cruelty and injustice were, in some degree, unavoidable concomitants of our westward expansion can hardly be denied. But a study of this volume makes evident that in addition to the inevitable factors of the situation there were others of a different nature. To the ignorance, ineptitude, and corruption, which for so long characterized the administration of Indian affairs, is due, in no small measure, this disgraceful chapter of our history. The abuses in the Indian service have been a source of scandal from the foundation of the government. They have been denounced by presidents, committees of Congress, and organizations interested in the welfare of the Indian, from the days of Washington to within the week just past. The words of General Garfield in 1869: "I am compelled to say that no branch of the national government is so spotted with fraud, so tainted with corruption, so utterly unworthy of a free and enlightened government, as this Indian department"—are typical of what has been said by responsible persons over and over again. But the reply of Secretary Stanton to General Halleck in 1864 is a significant indication of the reason why reform has been so long delayed: "What does Bishop Whipple want? If he has come here to tell us of the corruption of our Indian system, and the dishonesty of Indian agents, tell him that we know it. But the Government never reforms an evil until the people demand it. Tell him that when he reaches the heart of the American people, the Indians will be saved."

The author divides the history of the relations between the federal government and the Indians into three periods: the Treaty Period to 1871, the Reservation Period 1871-1887, the Allotment and Citizenship Period since 1887. In his treatment of the first period, he recounts the process by which the Indians were over and over again guaranteed the perpetual possession of lands in treaties which the federal government, in

the face of the invincible westward movement of population, was obliged to abrogate with almost mathematical regularity. In dealing with the later periods, when most of the Indians had been concentrated on lands west of the Mississippi, he traces the beginnings of those more purely administrative problems which have faced the Office of Indian Affairs in our own time.

Although the text is made up to a large extent of quotations from official documents, they have been so well chosen and so skillfully employed that the historical section is vivid and interesting and far removed from the aridity which one might expect in a monograph of this character.

The later sections of the book are of greater interest to the student of the minutiae of political science than to the historian. They give a clear, detailed, and comprehensive account of the multifarious activities of the federal government as guardian of the Indians, and of the organization which has been built up to carry on these activities.

In this volume, at least, the Institute for Government Research has accomplished fully the project set forth in the foreword to the series.

JOSEPH C. GREEN.

Desertion during the Civil War. By ELLA LONN, Ph.D., Professor of History in Goucher College. [Published for the American Historical Association.] (New York: Century Company. 1928. Pp. viii, 251. \$3.00.)

THE publication of this volume is one of the earliest fruits of the Revolving Fund of the American Historical Association. It was the reviewer's privilege to examine the book in manuscript; and the favorable impression then formed is confirmed and deepened by the published work. Miss Lonn has performed a most useful service by presenting an adequate though not bulky treatment of desertion on both sides in the Civil War. Her study is based on the more accessible published material, chiefly, of course, the *Official Records*. As for Confederate desertion, she shows that backwoodsmen and "crackers" had little interest in the struggle; that the conscript net dragged Northerners, Mexicans, and many ruffians into the service; that deserters were often mere boys; and that the poor food, clothing, pay, and equipment (many men being without blankets and others having "scarcely clothing to hide their nakedness") had their inevitable effect in the disintegration of morale. Under the unspeakable camp conditions of that time, men were "kept in the swamp until their systems were poisoned with miasma" (p. 12); and to the mental anxiety of homesickness and depression was added the desperation of those who were forced to desert to save their families. Soldiers from Arkansas, for instance, deserted at once when learning that Indians were scalping on the border. Death was the extreme penalty for desertion; but men were too precious to be shot; and shooting was out of the question for the

thousands guilty. Yet when forbearance was felt to be no longer a virtue, the death penalty was at times enforced. Stonewall Jackson, for instance, never failed to confirm the sentence of death.

Miss Lonn gives a vivid picture of the methods of deserters and the life of deserter bands, turned outlaw, in western North Carolina and Virginia, northeastern Alabama, the Georgia mountains, the Florida swamps, and the cane-bottoms of Louisiana. As to the larger consequences for the South, she concludes that desertion prevented offensives, as when Lee admitted that desertion was the main cause of his retiring from Maryland in 1862 (p. 120); caused withdrawal of forces for deserter-hunting (good soldiers sent after had often deserting on their own account); weakened the army by the widespread stealing of arms, horses, and equipment; conveyed information to the enemy; terrorized the citizenry, and lowered the general regard for a government that could not enforce its will or prevent anarchy.

When treating Union desertion, the author finds no such widespread outlawry of organized deserters as in the South; but she points out the evil effects of bounty-jumping, and shows that immense portions of the Union armies were reported "absent". The total number of deserters on the Union side, allowing for repeaters, is stated as approximately 200,000 (the estimate of Provost-Marshal General Fry), while the same authority is quoting as finding 104,000 Confederate desertions. Thus desertions were more numerous in proportion to enlistments in the North than in the South: one to seven in the North as compared with one to nine in the Confederacy. An analysis of desertion by states shows that New York had the highest number in the North, approximately 45,000; while North Carolina led the South with 23,000. The value of the book is enhanced by statistical tables; and the reviewer recommends it as better calculated to convey a sense of the sickening realities of the Civil War than many volumes of military history.

J. G. RANDALL.

Papers relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States. 1915, Supplement. *The World War.* (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1928. Pp. ccliv, 1080. \$1.75.)

THE present volume, as in the case of the 1914 *Supplement*, is divided into four general sections. The first contains correspondence relating to the continuation and spread of the European War and to the various attempts to arrange peace. Amounting to only a tenth of the volume, it is of especial importance for the study of conditions in the Central Empires, the diplomacy surrounding the entrance of Italy, and the diplomatic contest in the Near East. The second general section, forming the bulk of the volume, numbers over 600 pages and is devoted to the problems coming within the category "Neutral Rights". It covers the dispute arising with Great Britain over Allied interference with neutral trade and that with Germany over the submarine warfare. The first was evidently the

more irritating, the second infinitely more serious. The Allied attempt to prohibit all trade with Germany, the problem of contraband, the seizure of American ships and cargoes, might conceivably have led to a rupture of peaceful relations between the United States and the Allied nations, had it not been that the importance of this dispute was overshadowed by the sinking of the *Lusitania*, *Arabic*, *Hesperian*, and *Ancona*. For the first time the historian is in a position to proceed to a methodical study of our relations with the belligerents. The third section of the *Supplement* is devoted to "Neutral Duties", and the fourth to miscellaneous problems. As in the preceding volume, there is a double list of the papers, first by topics and second by countries, and a brief but serviceable index.

The interest of this volume naturally exceeds that of its predecessor in view of the increasing number, complexity, and importance of the problems which the State Department had to face in guiding the United States along the difficult path of neutrality. A brief review permits us merely to note fresh light on various issues of a controversial nature. It appears that although the State Department received no text of the Treaty of London it was informed by the American ambassadors in Great Britain and Italy of the general nature of the agreement, especially as it affected the Slavs. In each case the information came originally from Mr. Steed. The German contention that the submarine campaign was merely a retaliation to the British food blockade is seriously punctured by the evidence that Mr. Gerard, following the instructions of the State Department, took up at length with Germany the possibility of a compromise, according to which the British would permit food-stuffs to enter Germany, if the poison gas warfare and submarine attacks on merchant vessels were discontinued. But the Germans refused definitely to consider the proposal unless the free entrance of raw materials also were permitted. The German appeal to humanitarian sentiments can thus hardly be regarded as sincere. It is also interesting to note that the report of Mr. Bryan's alleged remark to Ambassador Dumba, to the effect that the first *Lusitania* note need not be taken too seriously, as passed on to Mr. Gerard by Herr Zimmermann, was immediately cabled by Mr. Gerard to Mr. Bryan. The latter at once invited Dr. Dumba to guarantee the falsity of the report, and to telegraph accordingly to Berlin. The exchange of documents leaves the definite impression that the Secretary of State was the victim of casual or intentional misrepresentation. The mass of despatches from the ambassadors in the different European countries, of which those of Mr. Gerard are especially informing, supplemented by the reports of the consuls, emphasizes the impression already created by previously published memoirs, *i.e.*, that the chance of negotiating peace in 1915 was practically non-existent. The only hope lay in the compromise proposals of Colonel House, which, if they ever enjoyed any possibility of success, were ruined by the sinking of the *Lusitania*. Even if the political leaders in Germany and Great Britain had approved

the suggested compromise and had overcome the unwillingness of the French to consider it, they would hardly have dared to face the storm of popular disapproval that would have followed in every country. The governments had aroused the peoples to such a white-heat of belligerent fury that they had really lost control of the situation. The chances of a negotiated peace weakened as the war proceeded, for the demands of each nation naturally increased in proportion to its sacrifices, and the hope of complete victory in each state was as lively at the end of 1915 as at the outbreak of the war.

CHARLES SEYMOUR.

Minnesota in the War with Germany. By FRANKLIN F. HOLBROOK and LIVIA APPEL. In two volumes. Volume I. [Publications of the Minnesota Historical Society.] (Saint Paul: Minnesota Historical Society. 1928. Pp. xviii, 374. \$3.50.)

ONE by one the authentic war histories of the states are being written. And they are indeed a welcome addition to that mass of "stuff" that flooded the country immediately following the close of the war. The private publishing houses had their day ten years ago. But now one can sit down and carefully assess the facts and write about them. And this is exactly what the authors have done in this volume, the first of a two-volume series, describing Minnesota's part in the World War. They have drawn upon the extensive collection of state war records, official and unofficial, newspapers, diaries, pamphlets, broadsides, etc., collected by the Minnesota Historical Society.

The opening chapter—there are thirteen in all—describes the foreshadowings of the conflict. Minnesota citizens attempted to remain neutral at the outset. The presence of 14 German daily and weekly newspapers, with a combined circulation of over 100,000, and the activities of the Minnesota Peace Society with its 70,000 members, adopting the slogan "flour barrels are better than gun barrels", made it rather easy for the people of Minnesota to assume a neutral position.

Minnesota senators and congressmen were quite undecided as to what stand to take in February and March, 1917. Four of her congressmen voted against the declaration of war. But how could they have done otherwise when Congressman Lundeen had discovered by a referendum ballot that of the 54,000 voters in his district only 800 wanted war, while 8000 had voted against it (p. 52)? Then when the selective service bill was introduced, three of Minnesota's congressmen voted against it.

But the pro-war adherents were determined to override this opposition. The Minnesota Commission of Public Safety, backed by the patriotic citizens of the state, led the way. They encouraged enlistment in the army and navy. They got an act passed by the Minnesota legislature in 1917 making it a misdemeanor punishable by fine and imprisonment, or both, to in any way discourage enlistments. And in June, 1918, the Public Safety Commission issued an order making it a misdemeanor

punishable by fine or jail imprisonment for any male person of 16 years of age or older, with certain exemptions, not to be engaged in some useful occupation (p. 105).

The chapters on the first draft; selective service; training of officers at Fort Snelling; all recall the vivid pictures that were enacted a little more than a decade ago. In some respects this volume is more than a mere record of one state's part in the World War. The chapters dealing with the officers' training camps at Fort Snelling, and the one on the S. A. T. C., are as good a review of these two forms of service as can be found anywhere in print. Likewise the chapter on the federalized national guard at Camp Cody is much more than a description of Minnesota's troops. It is an excellent discussion of the manner in which a National Guard unit was merged into the national army. And it is difficult to find a better description of the national cantonments than that set forth in the chapter on Minnesotans at Camp Dodge. The volume contains 12 illustrations, but no index.

JOHN W. OLIVER.

MINOR NOTICES

The Sumerians. By C. Leonard Woolley. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1928, pp. xii, 198, 6 s.) The Shumerians, as we should more accurately spell their name, could have found no better historian than Woolley, the excavator of "Ur of the Chaldees". His book possesses an importance entirely out of proportion to its small size. Its limits are generous, for the history is carried to the days of Hammurabi, and so includes the non-Shumerian dynasties of Agade, Isin, and Larsa. Attention is not confined to the relatively dry narrative history. Every aspect of the culture is considered, with the aid of the published texts and with full utilization of the archaeological material. Thirty illustrations, chosen for the most part from the excavations at Ur, will be a revelation to those who have believed that the Shumerians were incapable of aesthetic expression. Some of the sculpture is astonishingly well executed; the vases might grace a modern silversmith's shop.

Woolley has written a popular account, and is therefore justified in omitting references to his authorities. A large part of the new material is due to the excavations at Ur, and this has been published, in final or in preliminary form. Here and there, we could wish a fuller proof for his opinions on debated points, but these will doubtless be given elsewhere. His presentation of the racial problem is the most doubtful, and the reviewer would decorate these pages with a series of question marks. The discoveries of skeletal material at Ur are epoch making, but they raise far more questions than they solve.

The last chapter presents "the Claim of Sumer". With much of what is said, all students of the Ancient Near East will agree. Shumerian culture was the basis of the later Babylonian civilization, to a lesser degree of that of Assyria and of the other countries of Western

Asia. The arch, vault, and dome, employed from the earliest Shumerian times, were transmitted through Babylonia and Assyria to Hellenistic Greece and to Rome, and so laid the foundation for a new architecture in later Europe. Artistic tendencies are more subtle but none the less certain in their operation. The most important contributions were in the realm of ideas, especially as they affected the modern world through the Hebrews. The "Laws of Moses", with their dominant influence on later legislation, were based indirectly on Shumerian originals; many another religious concept of the Bible is equally Shumerian in origin.

When Woolley gives cultural priority to the Shumerians as against the Egyptians, opinion will be more divided. He notes that the First Egyptian Dynasty possessed a culture which was virtually new as compared with the predynastic, and that this culture is admittedly due to a foreign element. This foreign element, he argues, must go back ultimately to the Shumerians, for the culture contains such undoubted Shumerian elements as cylinder seals, pear-shaped mace heads, panelled building, peculiar vase forms, grotesque animal drawings, the sistrum, certain mythological beliefs. The culture of the prehistoric royal tombs recently excavated at Ur is to be dated earlier than the First Egyptian Dynasty, yet it is already old if not actually decadent. Art is conventionalized and stereotyped; the technique, especially in metallurgy, is so perfect that centuries of apprenticeship are demanded in explanation. By the First Egyptian Dynasty, Mesopotamia was at a far higher cultural level than was Egypt, and its culture was as ancient as that of Egypt was new. Woolley makes out a plausible case; there will be much learned debate before his conclusions are accepted.

A. T. OLMSTEAD.

The Origins of the Synagogue and the Church. By the late Dr. Kaufmann Kohler. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1929, pp. xl, 297, \$3.00.) At the time of his death in 1926, Dr. Kohler, so the introductory essay informs us, was regarded as the foremost exponent of Reform Judaism. The mere fact that he could link the history of the church and the synagogue together so dispassionately as he has done in this volume gives ample proof of his broad and modern background. The book covers a wide variety of themes and hence is extremely sketchy in places. The actual amount of its contribution to knowledge is not great, but even the scholar well versed in the subject-matter will find a certain charm about it that makes it well worth reading. The main thesis put forward by the author that the synagogue is the creation of the Hasidim, the precursors of Pharisaism, is interesting and valuable though we do not believe that it is possible to connect these Hasidim with the devout ones and saintly ones of the Psalms, much less with the devotional assemblies of the Babylonian exile. The synagogue first makes its appearance in the Hellenistic age, and a satisfactory explanation of its origin would doubtless have to take into account the change effected in the Jewish

mentality by the fact that Jewry suddenly breathed the air of a Greek world. After briefly characterizing the Pharisaic eschatology and Jewish apocalypics, Dr. Kohler comes to the second part of his book, in which he attempts to give an account of the origin of the church. His treatment of the gospel-history is critical, but he reaches the conclusion that Jesus's "great sympathy with the outcast and despised made him a redeemer of men and an uplifter of women without parallel in history". When the resurrection experiences led to the establishment of a Christian religious community the latter, Dr. Kohler believes, was formed with the assistance of an Essene element that allied itself with the church—a scarcely tenable assertion. He professes great admiration for St. Paul, but criticizes him for having created a new division among men; *viz.*, that of believers and unbelievers. All in all it is the work of an able and well-read scholar which will be read with interest by Jews and Christians.

EMIL G. H. KRAELING.

Osebergfundet. Utgit av den Norske Stat under redaktion av A. W. Brøgger, Hj. Falk, Haakon Schetelig. With a summary in English. Bind II., av Sigurd Grieg og Magnus Olsen. (Oslo, Universitetets Oldsaksamling, 1928, pp. x, 360, 19 plates, 100 kr., bound.) Volumes I. and III. of this work have already been reviewed in this publication (XXXIII. 850-851). In the present volume, the contents of the Oseberg ship are described from the viewpoint of "culture-history" rather than from that of archaeology. Dr. Grieg's contribution (pp. 1-286) is entitled *Kongsgaarden* (The King's Court). It includes not only detailed descriptions and illustrations of practically every article in the ship, but of analogous finds from other countries and places. A partial list will indicate the richness and variety of the materials associated with the "King's Court": a wagon of oak and beech, three ceremonial sledges with ornamental carvings, animal-head posts done by two artists, three beds, three oak chests, a box-shaped chair, kitchen utensils, such as iron pots, a frying pan, troughs, ladles, wooden bowls, and dishes, buckets and barrels, axes and knives, various implements used for spinning and weaving, such as looms, distaffs, linen and clothes beaters, reel and frame for winding thread, combs, shoes, a few ornamental articles of lesser value (tomb robbers have removed the articles of precious metals), and finally farm equipment, as a work-sledge, spades, a manure fork, whetstones, awls, and riding and driving equipment. All this in the tomb of Queen Aasa, mother of Halvdan Svarte and the grandmother of Harald Fairhair. Two runic inscriptions were found in the ship, one on a beech oar, the other on a fir pail. These are given probable renderings by Magnus Olsen (287-297). They are valuable rather as illustrations of the historical development of runic inscriptions than for their content. The three volumes that have thus far appeared dealing with the Oseberg find have been characterized by exceeding—perhaps excessive—caution on the part of the collaborating authors. Possibly the experts are reserving

their guesses for the later volumes. A bolder setting forth of the probabilities as to the place held by this remarkable find in the general history of culture and of art would surely be welcomed by that increasing group of scholars who are interested in the history of civilization.

WALDEMAR WESTERGAARD.

Les Influences Anglaise et Française dans le Comté de Flandre au Début du XIII^e Siècle. Par Gaston G. Dept, Chargé de Cours à l'Université de Gand. [Recueil de Travaux Publiés par la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres, Université de Gand, 59^e fasc.] (Ghent, Van Rysselberghe and Rombaut, 1928, pp. 231.) To explain the Hundred Years' War by reciting a few pages from Froissart was once considered good historical writing. How far modern scholarship has advanced beyond that facile method is exemplified by such a book as that of M. Dept. It is once again brought home to us that the so-called Hundred Years' War was, except for secondary details, the mere continuation of an ancient struggle, in which chivalry had about as much significance as altruism in the great war of 1914.

M. Dept's monograph intensively covers only the brief period from 1202 to 1226. It deals with the rivalry during these years of French and English for control of Flanders. When Baldwin IX. departed for the Holy Land in 1202, the English king already enjoyed the support of a strong party among the nobles, as well as of the trading class in the towns. This domination was first seriously threatened during the weak regency of Philip of Namur, when the crafty Philip Augustus was able to build up a baronial faction of his own. However, with the advent of a new count, the French cause collapsed. Ferrand of Portugal, though securing the hand of the Flemish heiress from Philip Augustus, made common cause against him with John Lackland. Thus by 1213 English influence in Flanders reached a new height, but it was not to remain unchallenged. After his triumph at Bouvines, Philip Augustus was able to reconstitute the alliance between French monarchy and Flemish aristocracy that had so important an influence upon subsequent events.

This essentially simple story M. Dept tells with a wealth of detail ably supported by scholarly citations. However, it is not the intricacies of local politics or genealogy that, to the mind of the reviewer, contribute most to our historical understanding. In an admirable introductory chapter M. Dept traces the connection between the period 1202 to 1226 and the Norman Conquest. One might wish that an equally lucid conclusion would perform the same service for the succeeding century—would sketch the persistence of the Flemish question down to the outbreak of war between Edward III. and Philip VI. For it is obvious that, instead of dying after Bouvines, it became aggravated. Indeed, as M. Dept shows, even after the nobility had joined the forces of Philip Augustus, the communes of Flanders maintained their attachment to England.

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Here we find a truth fundamental to Medieval Europe. State and nation were concepts of which men had no consciousness. War and politics were as yet essentially feudal. But while the interests of the aristocracy were scarcely more than those of mercenary adventurers, trade was producing a middle class with a stable policy. Markets could not be shifted so readily as feudal allegiances. And in proportion as commercial factors came to dominate the country, Flanders tended to become more of a political entity. It is surely noteworthy that, whenever the Flemish government was strong, the English alliance prospered. To an intelligent count wool was of greater moment than wages.

As would be expected of a pupil of Professors Pirenne, Haskins, and McIlwain, M. Dept has not restricted his research to one side of the Channel. The results that he has already attained surely lead us to hope that his studies will be continued.

CARL STEPHENSON.

Actes et Lettres de Charles Ier Roi de Sicile concernant la France, 1257-1284. Extraits des Registres Angevins de Naples et publiés par A. de Bouïard, Professor à l'École Nationale des Chartes. (Paris, Boccard, 1926, pp. vii, 413, 40 fr.) The three hundred and seventy-nine volumes, known as the Regesti Angioini and preserved in the state archives at Naples, are among the most important and less-known collections of documents surviving from the Middle Ages. Besides being of the utmost importance for the history of the kingdom of Sicily and for Naples and southern Italy from the sixth decade of the thirteenth century to the opening years of the fifteenth century, they are extremely valuable for the rest of Italy and for many parts of Europe. As long ago as 1886 P. Durrieu in his *Les Archives Angevines de Naples, Étude sur les Registres du Roi Charles Ier*, pointed out their great importance for the history of France, particularly in the reign of Charles I., the first Angevin king of Sicily. From these registers, which form the remains of the chancery of the Angevin kings of Sicily, Professor de Bouïard has now collected and published for the first time all the material for the history of France in the time of Charles I., King of Sicily. He has sought to include every document dealing with the political, military, administrative, economic, and social history of France during this period. As is to be expected from the source from which they were taken these documents deal largely with administrative history and especially with the administration of those districts of France held by King Charles I., the brother of Louis IX. of France, namely, the counties of Anjou, Provence, and Tonnerre, and the baronies of Alluie and Montmirail. From the orders sent by the king to the seneschals of Provence and to the baillis of Anjou much light is thrown on the revenue and financial organization of these provinces. A new and rich source for the history of France is thus made available, which is also of service for the study of the history of the Sicilian kingdom. In making this collection Professor de Bouïard has accomplished

his task with care, skill, and erudition. Because of the limitations of space he was unable to publish transcripts of the eleven hundred documents which are included in this collection, but has contented himself with omitting the formulas, as is often done in the registers, and in giving the substance of the documents, using as nearly as possible the words of the original, which after all was frequently the custom of the clerks of the Sicilian chancery in registering a document. Occasionally however a document is given in full. Reference is made to where a document in this collection has been previously published in whole or part, which also serves to show how little this great source has been utilized. There is an index, chiefly of proper and place names; had a subject-index been included this valuable volume would be of still greater service to students.

JOHN C. HILDT.

The Chancery under Edward III. By B. Wilkinson, M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer in Medieval History, University College of the South-West, Exeter. [Publications of the University of Manchester, no. CLXXXIX.] (Manchester, University Press, 1929, pp. xxxii, 242, 17 s. 6 d.) This is a useful and much needed piece of work. We now have at our command for information about the chancery during the fourteenth century, Sir Henry Maxwell-Lyte's *Historical Notes on the Use of the Great Seal of England*, *The Chapters on the Administrative History of Mediaeval England*, by Professor Tout, and the present volume, all published within three years. The first named describes for us the warrants behind the letters and writs issued by the chancery, as well as the methods of making and sealing instruments sent out from that department. Professor Tout describes the place of the chancery in the administrative system and in politics. Dr. Wilkinson is concerned with the activities of the chancery "as a secretariat" and "as an office of administration", and with the personnel of its working force. With these three studies before us we can learn much more about a very important department than we could have known before.

The treatment of the subject in this book is very simple. The first chapter contains a brief survey of the history of the chancery before Edward III. The two that follow deal with its secretarial and administrative activities. These bring together in convenient form much information that we have had and add some new material; they are sound pieces of investigation. Chapter four, on the organization of the chancery, has long been needed and is very helpful. The two chapters that follow are devoted to the personnel of the department. Chapter five, on the chancellors, suffers from the great disadvantage of having been sent to the printer before Professor Tout's third volume had been published. What it has to tell us about the political background of the changes that took place was largely superseded before it appeared. The biographical sketches of the greater clerks are very useful, though, as the author warns us, the distinction between clerks of the upper and lower

forums is often far from clear in the records. There are seven appendices. Of these the first two treat of controversial subjects antedating the reign of Edward III., while the others contain information about officers and payments for the expenses of the household of chancery, as well as a few unpublished documents.

JAMES F. WILLARD.

Un Financier Colonial au XV^e Siècle: Jacques Coeur. Par René Bouvier. (Paris, Champion, 1928, pp. 175, 25 fr.) An adequate biography of Jacques Coeur would go far to explain one of the most perplexing phenomena in history, the transition from the devastated France of the early fifteenth century to the united, powerful France of the end of the century. The meteoric rise of Jacques Coeur began when the "flayers" were terrorizing the countryside; his fall, in 1451, came when the reforms of Charles VII. were just beginning to take effect. During this period Coeur succeeded in developing an organization embracing finance, commerce, and industry which might excite the envy of a Stinnes. M. Bouvier has not solved the problems raised by this career. He has described admirably the situation in France which would seem to preclude the rise of a great capitalist; he has described briefly and clearly the many activities of Coeur. He has not, however, shown how such a career was possible at such a time. Neither has he, out of the fragmentary and prejudiced evidence which survives, succeeded in making a living personality of Coeur. On the other hand, he has refrained from making the dearth of material an excuse for the creation of a fictitious Jacques Coeur, as other recent writers have done. Within the space of one hundred and fifty pages he has given an excellent summary of French economic life in the first half of the fifteenth century and of our present knowledge of Jacques Coeur's career; he has contributed nothing new. The avowed purpose of the work is of interest to students of international affairs; to stimulate Frenchmen to emulate the achievements of their ancestors in the Mediterranean basin so that France may find in that region "power, countless riches, and a new youth".

R. J. SONTAG.

Opus Epistolarum des. Erasmi Roterodami, denuo recognitum et auctum per P. S. Allen, Litt.D., Collegii Corporis Christi Praesidem, et H. M. Allen. Tomus VII., 1527-1528. (Oxford, Clarendon Press; New York, Oxford University Press, 1928, pp. xxiv, 560, \$9.50.) It would be quite superfluous to repeat here what has already been said in these pages in praise of this monumental edition of the Erasmus correspondence. Enough that this seventh volume fully maintains the high standard of its predecessors. Its two hundred and seventy-eight letters cover only the period from March, 1527, to December, 1528, and of these ninety-two are addressed to Erasmus from a great number of correspondents.

One turns naturally to such items as might illustrate the reaction of public events upon the thought and action of the great scholar. These are the years in which an imperial army, led by a Lutheran and largely composed of Lutherans, was engaged in that "punitive expedition" against Rome which was to bring the papal policy into line with the imperial and secure to Charles the backing he sorely needed before he could proceed against the daily increasing power of the reforming party. In Germany the principle of the *cujus regio* of 1526 was being worked out into permanent form as the basis of that further compromise of 1529 out of which "Protestantism" was born. It is hardly too much to say that this was the most momentous crisis of the Reformation, and there can be no doubt that both parties felt that the name of Erasmus was the most important to conjure with, if only he could be persuaded to declare himself one way or the other. Yet, as one turns the pages of this volume one looks in vain for any such declaration. Over and over again occur the familiar complaints of ill-health, caused partly at least by the pressure of both friends and enemies, of malicious attacks from rival scholars, and wilful perversions of his most harmless utterances; illustrations found in a long letter to More [1804] and in one to and one from Charles V. [1873, 1920]. To the emperor he expresses his conviction that the Lutherans "are losing ground" at the moment when they were solidifying their scattered territories into a block against which the imperial forces were to be powerless for twenty years to come. Charles heartily approves of his work and will defend him to the best of his ability. Both of these letters are given also in a Spanish translation, an interesting indication of the interest in reformatory movements then active in Spain.

In this volume appears also the shameful episode of Louis Berquin in letters to and from him and others of the Paris group. At the close is a partial index of correspondents, to be replaced by a fuller one in the final volume.

E. E.

World Map of Francesco Roselli, Drawn on an Oval Projection and Printed from a Woodcut supplementing the Fifteenth Century Maps in the Second Edition of the Isolario of Bartolomeo dali Sonetti. Described by George E. Nunn from the copy in the collection of George H. Beans. (Philadelphia, privately printed, 1928, pp. 30, \$2.00.) Mr. Nunn has undertaken in this special study to set out the important features of the map by Francesco Roselli of 1532, copy of which is in the collection of Mr. George H. Beans. His monograph is one well and attractively printed in an edition of five hundred copies. The owner of the map makes suitable and courteous reference to the author, calling his work "a labor of love".

That Mr. Nunn has a deep interest in the subject of early maps and the records they contain of contemporary geographical conceptions, is again made evident by this scholarly piece of work. He incorporates

views he has expressed more or less fully in his earlier publications such as his *Geographical Conceptions of Columbus*. The transition from the Behaim-Ptolemy conception of the eastern Asiatic coast to the more nearly accurate one, as Roselli represents it, he critically reviews, still adhering however to many of the erroneously expressed views concerning Columbus's purpose and the beliefs he and other early explorers were thought to have entertained concerning trans-Atlantic discoveries.

That there were those who very early thought of the New World as a part of Asia must be accepted, but that there were many who from the very earliest years believed it to be an independent region must also be accepted.

His thought, for example, that the so-called Bartholomew Columbus map of about 1506 is "probably the most important map historically ever drawn" gives evidence that he has never carefully examined the manuscript in which the three maps appear. It is now very evident that Professor von Wieser, great student that he was, failed in his interpretation of these maps, particularly as to their apparent date, doubtless considerably later.

These and many other early maps Mr. Nunn brings under his own critical review, reproducing, in much reduced size, many of them.

E. L. STEVENSON.

Early English Intercourse with Burma, 1587-1743. By D. G. E. Hall, Indian Educational Service, Professor of History in the University of Rangoon. (New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1928, pp. viii, 276, 12 s. 6 d.) The author's introduction to this study gives at once an outline of his subject as an historical problem and a critical note on the character of the sources. The eleven chapters of the main text, which are so many distinct episodes in Anglo-Burmese relations, deal mostly with the principal—and usually only—English factory in Burma, that at Syriam. The accounts of the idiosyncrasies of the Burmese government and the activities of company's servants, free traders, and interlopers present a vivid picture of the difficulties with which the East India Company had to contend in its earlier years. The destruction of the Syriam factory as an incident of the Talaing rebellion of 1743, which abruptly ended a period of waning English interest in Burma, supplies a logical terminus for this work, for English contacts were renewed only after an interval of several years and then on an entirely new basis.

The eight appendixes are mostly extracts from the original sources which relate to long controverted matters. A complete bibliography of sources used is appended, in which the factory records of the East India Company are most conspicuous. The index is quite adequate and well arranged.

Due to the frequent and extended quotations from the scant surviving records of the period and the résumé of other original materials, the book partakes of many of the qualities of a primary source itself. Indeed, its

principal defects as a piece of historical writing are due to the author's care to leave out of consideration no available material which might throw light on his little known subject. The reader is conscious of a good deal of unnecessary repetition here and there, and no special effort has been made by means of literary art to add to the intrinsic interest of the information recorded. The work is well documented throughout and has been done with great care for accuracy. It performs a distinct historical service by filling in, as far as possible, a long existent gap in our knowledge of early English enterprise in the East.

HALFORD L. HOSKINS.

Piet Heyn en de Zilvervloot. Bescheiden uit Nederlandsche en Spaansche Archieven Bijeenverzameld en uitgegeven door S. P. L'Honoré Naber en Irene A. Wright. [Historisch Genootschap, derde serie, no. 53.] (Utrecht, Kemink and Son, 1928, pp. clxxxviii, 240; xl, 308.) In the memorable preface to *L'Île des Pingouins*, Anatole France observed in mockery of historians: "Quand un fait n'est connu que par un seul témoignage, on l'admet sans beaucoup d'hésitation. Les perplexités commencent lorsque les événements sont rapportés par deux ou plusieurs témoins." Almost always this is true, but here is a rare case of agreement among witnesses: Dutch records of Piet Heyn's famous exploit in capturing the treasure fleet from New Spain in 1628 do not differ on material points from Spanish records of the same event. The two groups of documents thus published in one volume by the Historical Society of Utrecht not only afford ampler knowledge of the West India Company's most famous captain than has hitherto been readily accessible, but add much picturesque detail of the combination of war, piracy, and religion which was still the brisk practice of successors of the Sea-Beggars. Mr. Naber has prefaced his documents with a discussion of the sources, and with a biographical sketch of the admiral's adventures: his youthful misfortunes which made him twice a captive and a galley-slave of Spain; his expeditions to Brazil and to Angola in the company's service; the glittering luck of his encounter with the treasure fleet; his appointment as lieutenant-admiral of Holland and—almost at once—his death in 1629 in a sea-skirmish with some Dunkirk privateers. There follows a brief but enlightening consideration of Piet Heyn's naval tactics which the documents—mostly sea-orders and a few reports to the company—further illustrate. Miss Wright's contributions from the archives of Seville and Simancas relate entirely to the capture of the silver fleet, and include valuable Spanish reports of that event and documents bearing on the trial of the unfortunate captain-general and admiral of the fleet. Collectively they present an incomplete but striking picture of Spanish colonial and commercial administration at that time—an administration well thought out, more than passably manned, but ponderous, inert, and inflexible. All the advantages of compactness, discipline, initiative, and luck were on the side of Piet Heyn, who, by the testimony of the enemy,

was "hombre de muy buena persona, y muy buen gouierno, soldado y marinero" (pt. II., p. 29). But, the reader reflects, his success was illusory, pieces of eight were a barren harvest, and the West India Company, choosing to hunt treasure, chose also to lose Brazil.

VIOLET BARBOUR.

Le Jansénisme durant la Régence. Par J. Carreyre, Professeur au Seminaire Saint-Sulpice. Tome I., *La Politique Janséniste du Régent, 1715-1717.* (Louvain, Bureaux de la Revue, 1929, pp. xiv, 205.) Professor Carreyre's opinion of the bull *Unigenitus*, the centre of the Jansenist conflict during the Regency, is stated at the outset. The pope, wrote the papal secretary of state to the nuncio in Paris, "a envoyé la bulle en France, non pour être examinée mais pour être obéie". To which the author adds: "Rien n'est plus logique, rien n'est plus conforme à la doctrine romaine; rien au fond, n'est plus prudent et plus sage, en matière religieuse" (p. 3).

To Philippe d'Orléans it was not so simple a problem. Cynical, even irreligious, he hoped to build up a political party by an alliance with the Jansenists and the Paris *parlement*. At the same time he wished to close the religious rift which enfeebled the church, and still worse, from his point of view, divided the state. Might not M. Carreyre have added that the Regent felt himself bound by Louis XIV.'s promise to obtain the acceptance of the bull? Two years were sufficient to convince him that the Jansenist alliance would not do. At the start he had placed Noailles at the head of the "Conseil de Conscience", and had appointed four bishops considered notorious Jansenists by the papal court (p. 21). At the end of the two years the Regent issued the *Declaration* of October 7, 1717, imposing silence on both parties, and was prepared to embark on "une politique plutôt antijanséniste".

Philippe's attempts at conciliation could not succeed. On the one hand, Clement XI. refused to compromise. On the other hand, the Jansenists and Gallicans (although the word *Gallican* does not appear to be in the author's vocabulary) refused to accept the bull without at least explanations which the pope refused to admit. The negotiations at Rome, and the opposition of the recalcitrant bishops and lower clergy, the Sorbonne, the Paris *parlement*, and provincial *parlements* and faculties, are well set forth.

M. Carreyre has used a wealth of contemporary pamphlets, and manuscripts in the Vatican, the archives of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Bibliothèque Nationale, and the Bibliothèque de Sens. We look forward to the completion of his work.

E. A. BELLER.

La Réaction Thermidorienne. Par Albert Mathiez, Chargé du Cours d'Histoire de la Révolution Française à la Sorbonne. (Paris, Armand Colin, 1929, pp. viii, 324, 40 fr.) M. Mathiez, whose indefatigable re-

searches have placed all students of the French Revolution in his debt, once more makes them his debtors by his new volume on the Thermidorean reaction. With the appearance of this work the author brings his chronological treatment of the Revolution through 1795 and the number of volumes in that series to four (the first three, also published by Colin, have been translated and published in one volume as *The French Revolution*, Knopf, 1928).

The first three chapters treat the Thermidoreans' offensive against the institutions of the Terror, the split in their ranks, and the trial of Carrier before the Revolutionary Tribunal. The next three deal with the formation and composition of the *jeunesse dorée*, the recall of the Girondins, and the amnesty to the rebels in the West. Then follow a brilliant chapter on the reopening of the churches and the concomitant decline of the revolutionary religion and two excellent chapters on the insurrections of Germinal and Prairial. The remaining chapters are given over to the White Terror, which M. Mathiez links up integrally with the returned émigrés, the royalist fiasco of Quiberon Bay, and the series of events centring about the constitution of 1795 and culminating in the Vendémiaire uprising.

It is impossible within the limits of this review to discuss in detail the author's selection and interpretation of facts. His treatment of the Revolution in terms of the class struggle, so well known to his old readers, also marks the temper of his latest volume. He has written, in a forceful and lucid style, the first carefully documented study of the last fifteen months of the National Convention, displaying on every page his matchless knowledge of the sources and his unerring flair for ferreting out intrigues and for baring the sordid personal motives of the Thermidoreans. But M. Mathiez has the defects of his good qualities. When due recognition has been made of the invaluable character of his study in filling in a gap long neglected by the historians, his volume still remains as much an indictment of the Thermidoreans as a treatment of the Thermidorean reaction. The implications of every move against the Terror institutions, he makes per lucidly clear; the relative sincerity of the Thermidorean temper and the natural desire, after five years of turmoil, to return to bourgeois normalcy, he either disregards or questions.

There are a number of minor typographical errors which are easily detected. The book is indexed, which is sufficiently rare in French studies to merit a passing note.

LEO GERSHOY.

The Sword of State: Wellington after Waterloo. By Susan Buchan. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1928, pp. 298, \$4.00.) It would seem that Mr. John Buchan—who has written so copiously and so variously for our information and for our entertainment—had more than met the quota for one household; nevertheless Mrs. Buchan has also made her offering in the shape of an extremely readable

book. *The Sword of State*—as the title and subtitle indicate—deals with the non-military activities of the Duke of Wellington, the author's great-great uncle. In addition to recollections communicated to her by her great-grandmother Charlotte Arbuthnot Wellesley, first Baroness Ebury, Mrs. Buchan has had access to the manuscript diary of Frances, Lady Salisbury. Besides making good use of this limited amount of new material she tells the well-known story of the duke's political career and influence from the best available printed works. With an eye for the essentials, for the picturesque, and with a deft power of vivid narrative she has wrought wondrously well with a theme so familiar in its main outlines. It should be a real solace to that type of general reader who of late years has begun to search thirstily for knowledge from springs not too inaccessible. While Mrs. Buchan writes with a certain degree of critical balance she is obviously desirous of confuting those who have reflected on the motives and doings of her noteworthy ancestor, or who have retailed gossip to his disparagement. Perhaps, however, when there is such a marked tendency toward "outstraching" the leading pioneer in tearing the trappings off heroes, a slight leaning in the opposite direction is permissible.

The seventh chapter—the last and longest—devoted to the duke's private life, will be the most informing to those already acquainted with the general history of England from Waterloo to the repeal of the Corn Laws. Among the topics treated in this final chapter are: the pathetic and futile figure of the duchess; the duke's relations with women, especially with that "charming and provocative riddle" Mrs. Arbuthnot, and with Miss J., who strove to save the soul of the illustrious widower, first through bonds of matrimony, and, when that proved impossible, through persistent epistolary exhortation extending over seventeen years. That communicative adventuress, Harriette Wilson, comes in for a scathing denunciation, although the Waterloo veteran suffers far less in her disclosures than his contemporaries. Among the duke's finer qualities stressed by his descendant are his unostentatious charities and his love for children, except, unfortunately, his own. Many of the historic anecdotes are repeated, though two or three of the best, at least in the reviewer's opinion, are not included. "Girl friends" (p. 32) is perhaps allowable in this particular instance, yet it is to be hoped that this phrase will not become current in England. March 6 (p. 95) should be April 6. In view of the restrictions in the annual Indemnity Act it may be queried whether the situation of the Dissenters during the century preceding the Test Acts was "a sentimental rather than a practical grievance" (p. 130).

A. L. C.

Napoleon I.: ein Lebensbild. Von Friedrich M. Kircheisen. In zwei Bänden. Band II. (Stuttgart and Berlin, J. G. Cotta, 1929, pp. vi, 431, 10.50 M.) This work is a continuation of the volume with the same title published in 1927. It takes up the narrative with the Peace of Press-

burg, where the earlier volume ended, and carries it down to the death of Napoleon. The two volumes together form but a part of a series of works dealing with various aspects of the Napoleonic era. The author has in fact devoted practically a life-time to this epoch. It has been his object, he tells us, to write the history of Napoleon and of his age as it was not possible to do earlier, largely because of the lack of reliable sources. But neither in this nor in the earlier volume does he tell us what these newly discovered sources are. It is this omission which most detracts from the value of the work.

His further purpose was to write the history of Napoleon "without sympathy and without antipathy" and without "psychological fantasy and speculation", in other words to let the facts speak for themselves. In this purpose he has been more successful. The story is told objectively and with sustained detachment. Other merits of the work are the smooth and easy narrative and real vividness, the latter secured largely by the use of concrete detail. Occasionally so many details are brought in as to blur the effect, but in the main they serve to give a sense of reality. The minute description, for instance, of the paraphernalia which was a necessary accompaniment of Napoleon's every journey throws lights upon him as a man, while the description of the means to which the soldiers resorted to protect themselves against the cold presents an unforgettable picture of the horrors of the retreat from Moscow. There is, however, an undue emphasis on military detail and an inadequate appreciation of economic influences. It is a pleasing narrative rather than a great and original contribution to Napoleonic literature.

Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria. By Joseph Redlich. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1929, pp. xvii, 547, \$5.00.) In this book we have a welcome and highly valuable contribution to the meagre literature in English upon Austro-Hungarian history. Transcending court gossip, usually retailed at second or third hand, indifferent to the sensation seeker, and unpretentious in the realms of psychoanalysis, Redlich has produced an important biography. In this thoroughly informed interpretation of Francis Joseph and his times, we have biography as it should be. Character, qualities, and personal aspects are pertinently and sufficiently delineated. Equal significance, moreover, is given to circumstance and background; the book is a brilliant and scholarly sketch of the Habsburg realms between 1848 and 1914. Broad outlines and momentous situations are indicated with the clarity, balance, and accuracy which betoken mastery.

Viewing the life of his subject "in close connection with the political transformation of Europe and the progressive shift in world power" between 1815 and 1920, the author seeks to make the "specific content" of his description the Emperor's human and political personality. "What makes him . . . impressive is that there was in him, as in no other European monarch of the past century, a perfect correspondence between

the man and his work." His distinguishing mark is that, in the midst of changes, he stood firm, retaining to the end his primitive, "legitimist" conception of the ruler whose will is always the strongest political force in his realm. From the beginning, his position was a false one. Ascending the Habsburg throne in 1848, as its conqueror, Francis Joseph accepted Schwarzenberg's "great deceit" of his people—a supreme piece of political jugglery. Habsburg tradition was naturally conservative, and yet his pride of power and monarchical instincts led him into revolutionary paths. He brought about a revolution "to the right" by his dependence upon military autocracy—strange to Habsburg history—and by the transformation of the Empire into a unitary monarchy. Direct and simple, lacking imagination or capacity for deep insight into the facts and forces of human life, and possessing no knowledge of the significance of personality, he sought, nevertheless, to exercise an absolutist sway over his army, his foreign office, and his civil government.

Among the many unfortunate results of thus applying eighteenth-century conceptions to nineteenth-century problems may be noted the weakening of Austria's position in the Eastern Question through Francis Joseph's diplomacy from 1852 to 1856; the loss of prestige consequent upon his personal assumption of field command in the war of 1859; the exclusion from Germany due, in part, to his treatment of the German question as a dynastic affair; and the fatal confusion of government arising from his handling of the internal conditions of the '90's, when the "doom of the Habsburg empire was sealed". His only creative work might be said to have been his acceptance of Déak's plans, thus becoming the "sole dual monarch in history". In his person united three elements: Austrian emperor, Hungarian king, and monarch common to both—"with the fierce light of modern state organization beating upon it, here, was the mystic principle of the Trinity set up as a practical form of government!"

It is only to be regretted that this biography is not more extensive, of the same scope, let us say, as Morley's *Gladstone* or Ronaldshay's *Curzon*, so that the information, experience, and penetrating judgments of Redlich could give us in greater detail, particularly of the diplomatic crises, a fuller study of this eventful and portentous life.

LAURENCE B. PACKARD.

Australasian Preferential Tariffs and Imperial Free Trade: a Chapter in the Fiscal Emancipation of the Colonies. By Cephas Daniel Allin (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1929, pp. 228, \$2.00.) In this posthumous monograph Professor Allin has continued his *History of the Tariff Relations of the Australian Colonies* from 1863 to 1873, a period notable for the growth in Australia and New Zealand of a new conception of the permanence and of the constitution of the Empire, and for the triumph of that conception over the little-England view long accepted at Westminster.

The adoption of protection in Victoria in 1863 sharpened intercolonial differences and tended to embitter relations already not altogether happy, amply demonstrating the wisdom of Earl Gray's attempt to secure a uniform tariff in 1848, and of the early proposals for federation. The prompt attempt of New Zealand and New South Wales to secure the repeal of the imperial prohibition on discriminatory tariffs failed; the Colonial Office still insisted on maintaining free trade and on controlling colonial action. A movement for a customs union, which would have been acceptable to the Colonial Office, broke down because of the unyielding provincialism of Victoria and New South Wales.

Economic interest, stimulated somewhat by irritation at the refusal of the home government to allow the colonies to determine local policies, induced an unprecedented coöperation in pressing the demand for tariff autonomy, and success furnished the Australian colonies with their first lesson in the advantage of united action. At the same time a vigorous loyalty to the Empire—a loyalty sound and mature, but impatient of obedience which seemed to be based on mere unthinking tradition or sentiment—decisively rejected republicanism, challenging the still prevalent expectation of the eventual separation of the colonies and suggesting a wider and more enduring basis for the Empire of the future.

In describing the conversion of Mr. Gladstone and his government, and the reluctant modification of precedents in colonial administration, involving the abandonment of part of the free-trade doctrine, Allin closely parallels Professor Knaplund's *Gladstone and Britain's Imperial Policy*. The point of view, however, is that of the Australasian governments. Professor Allin has made careful use of the parliamentary debates and papers and the official correspondence of the colonies.

The volume is prefaced with a warm biographical memoir by Professor William Anderson, who has also included a list of the published works of a scholar whose patient pioneering in a field still little exploited will be increasingly appreciated.

ERLING HUNT.

La Politique Russe d'Avant-Guerre et la Fin de l'Empire des Tsars, 1904-1917. Mémoires de Baron M. de Taube, Ancien Professeur de l'Université de Saint-Pétersbourg. (Paris, Leroux, 1928, pp. vii, 412, 40 fr.) This volume is much more rich and interesting in its interpretation of Tsarist diplomacy and its sidelights—far from flattering—on Russian personalities than the ordinary run of post-war memoirs. Baron Taube possesses charm of style, subtlety of approach, and much inside information, which he has enlarged by reading widely in the documentary publications which have been issued by the Germans and the Bolsheviks. Descended from a Baltic family of German origin he was a devoted servant of the Tsar, and some twenty of his brothers and cousins faced the Germans on the Eastern front during the war. He himself had the courage to warn the Tsar in the spring of 1914 of the fatal path along

which the Russian militarists and the weak hand of Sazonov were leading Russia to the abyss. He did not seek the limelight, yet he was no inconsiderable person, as is seen from the offices which he was called to fill: professor of law at the University of St. Petersburg, devoted pupil of the great jurist, Martens, and his successor as legal adviser to the Russian Foreign Office, chief Russian representative at the Dogger Bank Arbitration, at the London naval conference of 1908, and at the Hague Court, and acting-minister of education during the early months of the war. In such official positions he was well placed to see the weakness, incompetence, and follies of too many Russian officials. Izvolski, whom he several times caught lying, comes in for severe but often amusing criticism. Enjoying for ten years *otium cum dignitate*, not taking himself or the world too tragically, and being a good *raconteur*, he recalls episodes *quorum pars magna fuit* with a singular detachment, humor, and frankness. After relating how the Dogger Bank Affair, which at first roused such a storm of Anglo-Russian hostility, was cleverly turned into a step toward Anglo-Russian rapprochement, he explains the annulment of the Björkö Treaty and the making of the Baltic and North Sea agreements of 1907. This brings him to his main theme, the ambitious vanity and blunders of Izvolski's diplomacy and the nervous weakness of Sazonov prior to July, 1914, which he illustrates by many interesting examples. Much less valuable is his very brief account of the July Crisis and his attempt to assess responsibility for the war.

SIDNEY B. FAY.

The Balkan Pivot: Yugoslavia. A Study in Government and Administration. By Charles A. Beard and George Radin. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1929, pp. x, 325, \$2.50.) This concise survey of Yugoslavia appears to belong to political science but actually is as a mirror of past history. Nearly all appropriate topics are given space: Economic Realities, the Political Background, the Constitution, the Crown (especially important), Parliament, Political Parties, the Cabinet, National Administration, and the Budget System. National Economic Problems and Public Opinion are followed by descriptions of the courts and the law and local government. The chapter on Foreign Policy and National Defense is suggestive rather than satisfying. These writers do not echo the many depressing statements about Yugoslavia that have been printed. The Jugoslavs constitute not a nest of bloody murderers, but a community of normal men, like the rest of us, stirred at times to passionate, ill-advised action, but really capable of working a government. There are almost ludicrous resemblances brought out between American and Yugoslav political ideas and political manoeuvring. "Since the Yugoslav papers, unlike those of the United States, relegate gruesome murders, suicides, and divorces to obscure corners and confine them to minor notices, politics must make up for scandals as well as sports" (p. 173). Just as official pressure at elections is admittedly a present evil,

though a declining one, so are extravagance and corruption in pensions, lack of uniformity in law, Cabinet crises, inequalities in taxation, but in all of these cases, "there is no ground for taking an extreme view of the matter" (p. 89).

Had the comment on the genesis of the constitution (p. 54), quoted from McBain and Rogers (p. 347), been accurately cited and had it also been tracked to its original source, there would have been less ground for the criticism expressed in this book. The Macedonian and refugee problems are not firmly grasped. As to minorities, German claims (p. 306) are hardly final authority. It makes considerable difference to Yugoslavia whether these minorities number 16 2/3 per cent., or 25 per cent., two millions or three, of its population of twelve (p. 306). Did the Serbian *consistently* take the advice of Russia and France (p. 304)? Croatia borders upon the Adriatic, but Croats bitterly resented the ratification of the Nettuno Convention. "1928" should be "1918" (on page 34). The statement that "The material upon which this book is based was consulted upon the ground in Yugoslavia" (p. vii) is supplemented only by rather insufficient foot-notes. Small though the volume is, yet a bibliography and an index are sorely needed.

ARTHUR I. ANDREWS.

The First Delineation of the New World and the First Use of the Name America on a Printed Map. By Henry M. Stevens, M.A. (London, Henry Stevens, Son, and Stiles, 1928, pp. xvi, 127.) Mr. Stevens has given us in this monograph a most interesting study of an unsigned and undated document, believing the same to be the oldest known printed map of the New World, and the oldest one on which the name America appears. There is no inclination on his part to deny its Waldseemüller and St. Dié origin, although its printing he assigns to Nuremberg.

It was in 1893 that this document came into the possession of Mr. Stevens, and he interestingly tells of its acquisition and of its later sale to the John Carter Brown Library, in which library it is still counted as one of its most interesting treasures. He has not departed from his earliest conviction, may it be said, that it may be considered a sort of trial block-print of the 1513 *Orbis Typus*, and that it probably was prepared some months before the printing of the *Cosmographiae Introductio* in 1507, when Waldseemüller was at work with his "confrères" in St. Dié in the preparation of a new edition of Ptolemy, that is probably in 1505 or 1506. If his assumption were accepted as proved this would give it a date earlier than the great Waldseemüller world map of 1507 on which the name America is generally believed first to have appeared, the only copy of which map was discovered and described by Professor Joseph Fischer, S.J., in the year 1901.

The reader is quite irresistibly carried on, page after page, in a perusal of this interesting and scholarly study, but he is repeatedly led

to note that the "probably" this or "apparently" that of the author leaves the way open for doubt as to his assigned date or priority. His arguments are very detailed; hence there is want of space here even to list them. However, among his more important lines of very special investigation, and neither time nor labor has been spared in the preparation of his monograph, he has given consideration to the problems of type peculiarity and of printing, to problems touching the when, why, and where such a document as this was prepared, to the watermark of the paper, to its probable relation to the *Orbis Typus*, finding its somewhat proof-sheet character to be evidence of its priority.

As stated, this must be counted a splendid piece of historical investigation, but with others, more or less familiar with the problems involved, some doubt yet remains that we have here the first printed map of America, even one older than the Contarini map dated 1506, and the first to bear that name.

E. L. STEVENSON.

Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, October, 1927-June, 1928. Volume LXI. (Boston, the Society, 1928, pp. xvi, 326.) The most substantial contribution to this volume is Professor Arthur L. Cross's thorough study of Benefit of Clergy in the American Criminal Law. Colonel C. E. Banks gives a history of Scottish Prisoners deported to New England by Cromwell. Mr. Ford makes an interesting exhibit of the book-trade in Boston in 1771-1774 by printing correspondence of Henry Knox as bookseller. He also prints a statement by Preston S. Brooks describing with much complacency his attack on Sumner. Of biographical sketches of deceased members, Mr. W. V. Kellen's account of Arthur Lord stands out especially.

Frontiers and the Fur Trade. By Sydney Greenbie. (New York, John Day Company, 1929, pp. xiv, 235, \$3.75.) Mr. Greenbie has clearly stated the theme of his volume in the following words: "This is the story of the two oldest pursuits of men, hunting and fishing, and their part in peopling the American continent and creating what is unique in modern American life and its spirit." The principal emphasis, however, as the title indicates, is upon hunting and the fur trade. The earlier chapters describe in interesting fashion certain aspects of the European and Asiatic fur trade before the modern era, a subject which has been considerably neglected. Many persons will object to the thesis that the American frontier is an extension of that of Europe. It is a fact, however, that the European demand for furs played a much more important part in the exploration and colonization of America than is commonly appreciated. Mr. Greenbie states the case rather happily when, in referring to the beaver trade, he says: "The Indian, the buffalo, and the eagle adorn the coinage of our land, but the creature that itself for generations was the coinage has been quite neglected."

As a piece of vivid and impressionistic writing on a picturesque theme, the volume will doubtless have a certain popular appeal. But as a contribution to the history of the fur trade it can not be taken seriously. The author's presentation of his material is characterized by a vagueness or looseness of expression which is somewhat exasperating to one who is in search of accurate information. For example, the word "monopoly" is so loosely used as to deprive it of any economic or political significance. The Northwest Company was not an outgrowth of the Michilimackinac Company, as stated on page 153, nor was it made up so largely from employees of the Hudson's Bay Company as the author implies. In fact, the details of the early history of the Northwest Company are exceedingly obscure. Except for an occasional passing reference in the text, there is no indication of the sources from which the materials for the book have been drawn. The style is occasionally turgid and passages like the following (p. 144) are not uncommon: "The Hudson's Bay Company lay like the apple of fable in the throat of France in America; the colonies of England were the cancer in her stomach." Mr. Greenbie showed real imagination and a sense of historical values in his selection of a subject. But to treat of such a theme successfully, one must have a thorough acquaintance with the vast and extremely diverse literature of the field, and this acquaintance, the reviewer feels, the author did not possess.

WAYNE E. STEVENS.

The Development of Governmental Forest Control in the United States. By Jenks Cameron. [Institute of Government Research, Studies in Administration.] (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1928, pp. x, 471, \$3.00.) This is too interesting a book for so formidable a title. Two features are of particular value. It goes behind the scenes to analyze the attitude and motives of government, lumbermen, and public. It includes, moreover, the only adequate history of the middle period of our forest history, between 1776 and 1876.

The colonial period, where England tried to ensure a permanent supply of mast pines for her navy, has already received full treatment. So, too, the last half century, with its official forestry work, its national forests, and its coöperation between government and lumber interests, has been well handled in Dr. Ise's *The United States Forest Policy* (1924).

But in the intervening century, Mr. Cameron had a virgin field for research, and some interesting revelations are made. Our original forest reservations on the Southern coast arose from the navy's need for live oak. When forest policy finally emerged from its long domination by such naval interests, the government about 1850 made ineffectual attempts to check the wholesale devastation of the pine forests of the Lake States.

Throughout the book, the author has made a study of motives. The forests were natural victims of the frontier spirit. The lumbermen, "men who feared no law", defied not only the royal deputies in New

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Hampshire but also the federal forest agents in Florida and Michigan. They did much to squander the nation's forest heritage, but in return they laid the foundations of an empire in the place of the woods. Then, about 1876, "adventure's heyday" drew toward a close. The nation, long lulled by the "Great Inexhaustibility Legend", began to see "the bottom of the bin". Even the lumber interests realized that their business would go with the forests; so coöperation with the government gradually replaced antagonism. Mr. Cameron shows the contributions of the great forestry protagonists, Schurz, Hough, Fernow, and Pinchot. He also takes the reader behind the scenes of official policy to see, for instance, a Florida federal judge selling his live oak lands to the government and becoming their official keeper; the zeal of federal agents in the Michigan forests stopped for political reasons; and the purchase of lands for national forests justified on the far-fetched argument of the navigability of rivers.

The only weak part of the book is the chapter on the colonial period, based largely on secondary sources and not even the latest of those. Recent research has shown that on the eve of the Revolution the British "Broad Arrow" policy was being modified along the lines of localized reservations and coöperation with the lumber interests, a forecast of modern policy. The extensive bibliography should be a useful guide through the maze of official publications and periodical literature. The book is well written and well linked together.

ROBERT G. ALBION.

The Diary of Francisco de Miranda, Tour of the United States, 1783-1784. Spanish text edited with introduction and notes by William Spence Robertson, Ph.D., Professor of History, University of Illinois. (New York, Hispanic Society of America, 1928, pp. xxxvi, 206.) Miranda's Diary is an account of a journey which took the author the whole length of the Atlantic seaboard of the United States in 1783-1784. The somewhat sketchy record of places visited and persons encountered is enlivened by anecdotes and comments which touch on all phases of contemporary life. The young Venezuelan visited several of the principal American cities and met almost everyone of importance. As he was particularly interested in the military history of the Revolution he made special efforts to visit and describe the scenes of the principal battles. He is generous in his praise of the hospitality of the people and shows himself on the whole favorably impressed with North American political and social institutions. There are suggestions throughout the diary of the revolutionary spirit which was to shape his later career. He is frank in his comments, both on persons and customs. George Washington seems to have made a rather unpleasant impression, but Benjamin Franklin (whom he did not meet) is highly praised for his skill as a military engineer, for his scientific achievements, and for his other discoveries "much more useful to the human race" such as the famous shaving soap which bore his name. Many of the leading citizens of the

new republic, including even some of the university presidents, appeared to Miranda ignorant and uncultivated, chiefly no doubt because of wide differences in points of view. The Puritan tradition was clearly repugnant to him and he complains bitterly of excessive church going and the "crass superstition" shown in the observance of the Sabbath in New England. He objects also to household vermin and night-singing bullfrogs in the South. Altogether the book is a most entertaining picture of the United States at the close of the Revolutionary War, and the picture derives peculiar charm from the fact that it is seen through South American eyes.

The Widening Scope of American Constitutions. By Sister M. Barbara McCarthy, A.M. (Washington, Catholic University of America, 1928, pp. 134, \$1.00.) That our early state constitutions contained only the broad outlines of government, while modern constitutions have become increasingly diffuse and elaborate, is a fact generally recognized; but the working out of the details to illustrate this movement for 48 commonwealths is a formidable task. In addressing herself to this difficult problem Sister Barbara has, with a few minor imperfections of proof-reading and punctuation, produced a valuable monograph. In tracing the growing size and content of constitutions, she sets forth the decline of confidence in the legislature, the increasing tendency toward elective offices, the removal of religious and property qualifications, the gradual extension of the franchise, the many provisions touching corporations, the regulation of matters affecting labor, the expansion of public education, the progress of prohibition, and the growing tendency to bring social and industrial questions generally (hours of labor, employer's liability, the minimum wage, child labor, etc.) within the scope of constitutional provision. Though the author's generalizations are given in the briefest form, often being reduced to charts and maps, the elaborate annotations indicate the solid research upon which the conclusions rest.

J. G. RANDALL.

Congressional Investigating Committees. By Marshall Edward Dimock, Ph.D. [Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science.] (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1929, pp. 182, \$1.75.) The frequency of and the prominence given to congressional investigations in recent years give particular timeliness to this study. The author reviews all investigations by either house of Congress since 1784 with a view to interpret the results in terms of political cause and effect. The first two chapters are introductory in character and comprise nearly one-third of the monograph. The first of these relates to the significance of the problem in the United States and to the exercise of similar functions by other modern constitutional governments. The second traces the English origins and the transference of this power to the colonial and state governments.

The next three chapters treat of the three groups of congressional investigations, classified respectively under each of the legislative functions claimed by Congress—namely, those in relation to members of Congress, those connected with law making, and, finally, those designed to exercise control over the executive.

It is a matter of interest to note that some three hundred and thirty investigating committees have been authorized. Although an investigation may be inaugurated by either house there is a striking contrast between early and recent practice. In the early days the House instituted seven or eight times as many investigations as the Senate, while in recent years the tables have turned. In the period 1900–1925, for example, Congress conducted some sixty investigations; about two-thirds of these were instituted by the Senate. There have been some fifteen joint committees. The first of these was the celebrated committee on the Conduct of the Civil War.

In the allotted space it is impossible to do more than indicate certain results and tendencies. Investigations in regard to members have been relatively few in number. These related chiefly to their qualifications and conduct. The most prominent of these have been election cases, notably the recent cases of Smith and Vare. Investigations in pursuance of the law-making function of Congress have been undertaken to secure information with reference to social and economic conditions and other subjects of public welfare. The present tendency is to delegate a considerable part of this function to fact-finding commissions. Investigations intended to effect the control of the executive have been the most important and numerous. These have related to nearly every one of the executive departments. The conduct of the President or a member of the Cabinet has been subjected to investigation twenty-three times. The recent Fall and Dougherty cases are examples of this type.

This valuable monograph concludes with an extended discussion of the law and procedure and a critical appraisal and forecast.

H. V. AMES.

The Diary of John Quincy Adams, 1794–1845. American Political, Social, and Intellectual Life from Washington to Polk. Edited by Allan Nevins. (New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1928, pp. xviii, 585, \$5.00.) There is solid justification for an abridgment of the famous *Diary of John Quincy Adams*. The twelve volumes of the original are becoming more and more inaccessible; and, moreover, while they must always remain indispensable to the scholar, their very bulk acts as a deterrent when it comes to making their precious analyses of men and events available to the general reader. Professor Nevins has, therefore, performed a service in preparing the work under review.

He has accomplished his task, moreover, with the highest degree of success. The proportions of the work are excellent. No one of the critical periods in Adams's life is slighted. The salient moments in his

long political career are given with very considerable detail, as for example in the long chapter on the years 1821-1825. Nor is Mr. Nevins's emphasis, as the subtitle of the abridgment makes clear, entirely political. There is a very considerable body of material that throws light on social and intellectual conditions, on conditions of travel, on religious and intellectual currents, on the development of the national capital. Adams's innumerable personal judgments, to be accepted with caution, but always interesting despite their spleen, are reproduced on the most satisfactory scale.

Here and there the method of abridgment introduces a new subject somewhat abruptly. But in general Mr. Nevins's notes obviate this difficulty.

Not the least valuable part of the whole work is the penetrating analysis of the personality of the diarist by which it is preceded. Sympathetic and yet discriminating, it is one of the best brief descriptions of this noble, and yet bleak, personality that has ever been penned.

The Road to Oregon: a Chronicle of the Great Emigrant Trail. By W. J. Ghent. (New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1929, pp. xviii, 274, \$5.00.) In an introduction partly devoted to a somewhat carping criticism of Parkman for failure to show a spirit of historical inquiry in his *Oregon Trail*, the writer outlines his own purpose in these words: "It is sometimes asserted that the main business of a historical writer is interpretation. In the view of the author the main business is accuracy" (p. xi). To the reviewer there seems no evident incompatibility between these two aims; but granted the point, Mr. Ghent's preference for the latter—apparently in his mind at the expense of the former—would throw some question on his publisher's reference to the volume as "a saga of America in the making" (jacket). As a matter of fact, despite his passion for accuracy first, Mr. Ghent has allowed a number of minor errors to slip into his book, a few of which, in answer to his prayer that "every error . . . may be corrected and exposed" (p. xi), are collected at the end of this review. Withal, he has written a decidedly readable and entertaining narrative of this famous corridor from the fur-trapping days in the early decades of the nineteenth century down to the decline of the trail which followed the building of the Union Pacific. To the oft-told story of the path-breakers, the early missionaries, and the Oregon pioneers, Mr. Ghent adds little, but in his chapters entitled *The Fictious 'Fifties* and *The Stage Coach Era* he assembles much interesting data on the early mail and stage schedules and of the merits both of competing routes and competing companies.

Mr. Ghent interprets his subject broadly, devoting considerable space to incidents only remotely associated with the Oregon Trail—the fate of the Donner party, for example. On the other hand, the picturesque Bonneville is dismissed with four lines.

For the most part the author has confined his researches to published material. However, he seems not to have used the extremely important Oregon Pioneer Association *Transactions* except as they have been in part reprinted. For the great migration of '43 he could have drawn advantageously on the published fragmentary journal of William Sublette, and for the entire narrative the rich manuscript collections of the Missouri Historical Society would have proved a splendid foundation.

Errors occur here and there, but they are not egregious. Glens Ferry is not in Owyhee County, Idaho (p. 8). Andrew Henry was the partner, not merely the "field captain" of W. H. Ashley, who was elected lieutenant governor of Missouri in 1820, not 1821 (p. 13). In tracing the history of the Overland Train (p. 156) there is no reference to Frémont's second expedition, which pioneered much of the route through Colorado and Wyoming. On pages 21 and 22 occurs a somewhat contradictory statement regarding the first wheeled vehicles to use South Pass.

An interesting appendix summarizes the progress thus far made in marking the trail. The volume is admirably illustrated.

H. C. DALE.

The Isthmian Highway: a Review of the Problems of the Caribbean. By Hugh Gordon Miller, LL.D. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1929, pp. 341, \$4.50.) The author deals with several questions of foreign policy, some of which are not at first glance closely related to the subject of the book. The history of the Monroe Doctrine, the general question of intervention in the Caribbean and elsewhere, relations between the United States and Great Britain, and the freedom of the seas are discussed at some length, and the theories set forth are illustrated and supported by extensive quotations from other writers. With respect to the canal itself, the author advocates a more business-like accounting system and the appointment by the Hague Court of an international auditing committee to assist the President of the United States in fixing rates.

Mount Vernon on the Potomac: History of the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association of the Union. By Grace King. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1929, pp. xiv, 491, \$4.00.) The story of the preservation and restoration of Mount Vernon has been told many times, and will be told again from generation to generation. The tale has not been told more gracefully or with more fervor than Grace King has done it. Delaying only to make a brief summary of the deplorable neglect into which the home of Washington had fallen, the author tells in detail of the inspiration of Mrs. Robert Cunningham, and of the seven years of struggle and the final triumph of her daughter, Ann Pamela Cunningham, to rescue Mount Vernon and restore to the estate the atmosphere in which Washington lived during his peaceful years. It is impossible to know Washington without knowing Mount Vernon. Moreover, the causes

which led to the dilapidation of the estate were changes in social and economic conditions which affected the entire country. Thus its story is not an isolated instance, but is typical of the gradual parting of the ways between the South and the North and New West.

Miss Cunningham's regency of the Mount Vernon Association lasted until 1874, covering the entire period of storm and stress and well into the time of established success. The second half of the book, devoted to the internal workings of the Association, relates the gathering of personal belongings of Washington; the rehabilitation of mansion and gardens under good advice; protection against unwelcome gifts; the accumulation of letters and documents (many as yet unpublished and unread); the story of the Houdon bust, the most authentic likeness of Washington; and the notable contribution to American history made by the Association in financing the compilation, editing, and publishing of the *Washington Diaries* under the direction successively of Worthington C. Ford and John C. Fitzpatrick.

Quite incidentally this book is the complete and convincing answer to the recurring agitations to have Congress take the management of Mount Vernon away from the Ladies' Association, because an entrance fee is charged and because the place is not opened on Sunday. Such agitations, happily, are futile; but, unhappily, they arouse in the public mind feelings disturbing to the peace and quiet of the home of Washington, now protected with respect and reverence.

CHARLES MOORE.

The Labor Movement in the United States, 1860-1895. By Norman J. Ware, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Economics in Wesleyan University. (New York, D. Appleton and Company, 1929, pp. xviii, 409, \$3.00.) This book is a history and interpretation of the Knights of Labor. Mr. Ware was fortunate in obtaining access to the official correspondence of the knights, which had been kept secret by its last Master Workman until 1917, twenty years after the knights had disappeared. This enabled him to give a picture of Master Workman Powderly, from his own letters, which is a valuable contribution to the history of American labor leaders, and a new light on the factional internal fights and jealousies of the knights. There is a large amount of secret documents contained in the book, and the whole is well organized and well written, with a dramatic combination of idealism and cynical disappointment that the knights did not come up to his ideals. The ideal of the knights was "solidarity". Their motto proves it. "An injury to one is the concern of all." There was no reason, in the nature of things, that the knights should have failed when they had such an inspiring motto. The failure must be attributed to something else—the stupidity and selfishness of mankind.

It is difficult to comprehend this kind of history-writing as late as the year 1929. It takes us back to St. Augustine, Robert Owen, Moody, and Mencken. Ordinarily modern historical science tries to see such a move-

ment as the Knights of Labor in the midst of its environment. Not so with Ware. No serious attention is paid to the circumstances of American politics, the cycles of prosperity and depression, the post-war deflation, the free land and closed land, immigration, American individualism, the conflicting state and federal legislatures, the Supreme Court, the power of capitalist organization, and so on, which might throw some light on the spectacular rise and fall of the knights coinciding with a business cycle. It turns on the futile personality of Powderly, the executive unscrupulousness of Gompers, the perversity and craft exclusiveness of that idealized workingman who really wants—if he only knew it—solidarity. It is this that makes Ware's book dramatic and cynical. Labor is labor wherever found; capitalism is capitalism wherever found; labor is solidaristic and class conscious wherever found. Only stupid, brilliant, and unscrupulous personalities count.

JOHN R. COMMONS.

Two Great Scouts and their Pawnee Battalion. By George Bird Grinnell. (Cleveland, Arthur H. Clark Company, 1928, pp. 299, \$6.00.) This is a story of the "Last American Frontier" by one whose intimate acquaintance with the West dates back to 1870, and who has made a life-long study of the plains Indian and his habitat. The subjects of the study are the North brothers, Frank J. and Luther H., who grew up on the Nebraska frontier of the 'fifties, in close touch with the Redmen of the region, especially the Pawnees. This early acquaintance with the Pawnees paved the way for the later organization by the brothers of the Pawnee Battalion for government scouting service in the wars against other tribes.

Having no tribal friends on the plains, the Pawnees, veritable Ishmaelites of the prairie, were disposed to be friendly with the whites, a fact which facilitated their enlistment in the service of the government. In the great Sioux war of 1864, when the Pawnee reservation in Nebraska, in common with the entire Northwestern frontier, was exposed to the attack of the Sioux, an army officer suggested to Frank North that he should utilize his knowledge of the Pawnees by organizing a company of them as scouts. The suggestion was promptly acted upon, the Pawnee Battalion came into being, and the North brothers were launched upon their careers as scouts.

In 1865 the scouts participated in the campaign into the Powder River and Yellowstone country against the hostile Sioux and Cheyennes. From 1867 to 1869 the battalion did guard duty against the Indians along the line of the Union Pacific railway, then under construction, while the period from 1870 to 1877 was filled with a variety of campaigns, ranging from the Kansas frontier on the south to the Black Hills and the Yellowstone on the north.

The book is an attempt, not altogether successful, to establish the claim of the North brothers to inclusion in the select list of great Western

scouts, along with Jim Bridger and Kit Carson. The material is interesting in itself, but not especially well organized. For the student of history, the value of the work would have been considerably enhanced by the inclusion of a bibliography and the citation of authorities for important statements. The chapter on Custer's Black Hills expedition of 1874 is based upon the author's personal observations as a member of the party. The bulk of the material for the book was evidently supplied to the author by Luther North. A map, likewise based upon data supplied by North, and a rather complete index add to the value of the book.

JAMES B. HEDGES.

Twenty Years with James G. Blaine. By Thomas H. Sherman. (New York, Grafton Press, 1928, pp. xiv, 194, \$3.50.) Blaine, the Plumed Knight! What a name to conjure with in American history! And yet no satisfactory biography of him based on much study and reflection has thus far been written. Other personalities of his period are being studied as collections of private papers are opened to scholars. The renewed interest in his public career is attested to by the recent appearance of three books dealing with it. Unfortunately, most of the large and invaluable collection of papers which Blaine accumulated during thirty years of distinguished public service will never be available for his biographers or for students of his period. During the summer of 1891, bundle after bundle of the Blaine papers, which had been kept in his Maine home, were burned under the supervision of Louis Dent, his private secretary, in accordance with Blaine's own directions.

It was therefore with keen anticipation that historical scholars read the announcement that Mr. Sherman, who had been Blaine's private secretary from 1869 to 1889, was writing *Twenty Years with James G. Blaine*. Disappointment awaits them, however. The book adds little of importance to what is already known. Over one-third of its 194 pages is devoted to reprinting material from newspapers, magazines, and the *Congressional Record*. Comments of Republican newspapers on the Mulligan Letters and on Blaine's candidacy for the presidency, and eulogistic statements issued by various public men upon his death are printed, but typical comments of Mugwump and Democratic papers are religiously overlooked. Laudatory adjectives and adverbs abound.

Among the chief topics discussed are Washington in 1861, the assassination of Lincoln, Blaine as Congressman and Speaker, his controversy with Conkling and his intimate relations with Garfield, the latter's assassination, and Blaine's radical attitude towards the South. Some new and interesting, but not important, details are given. Five important telegrams and letters that passed between Benjamin Harrison and Blaine are printed and Blaine's work in Harrison's Cabinet is reviewed briefly. Mr. Sherman, however, glosses over the very important fact that the relations between these two men, beginning shortly after Harrison's nomination in 1888, were delicate, and that the gulf widened between

them until Blaine ardently desired Harrison's defeat for renomination in 1892. "My associations with Mr. Blaine cover some of the most pleasant experiences of my public life and some of the most trying", wrote Harrison in May, 1893, in a private memorandum concerning his relations with Blaine. Tracing the rise of this estrangement and its effect on the foreign policy of the United States would have been much worth while. Such material is exactly what one would expect from an intimate personal associate. Dr. Alice Felt Tyler in *The Foreign Policy of James G. Blaine* could not do this as her book was written without access to either such Blaine manuscripts as still remain, or to the Harrison Papers.

The book does shed additional and agreeable light on Blaine's remarkable personality, his domestic life, and his personal relations with other leaders. Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler has contributed an introduction; more valuable, however, is the charming personal sketch of Blaine contributed by his daughter, Mrs. Harriet Blaine Beale, written originally for "Just Maine Folks". Blaine's famous eulogy of Garfield is reprinted in the appendix. The book is appropriately illustrated and well printed.

A. T. VOLWILER.

The Memorabilia of Fifty Years, 1877-1927. By the Rt. Rev. Edward Rondthaler. (Raleigh, Edwards and Broughton, 1928, pp. x, 520, \$5.00.) In 1877, just as the period of Reconstruction closed in North Carolina, Reverend Edward Rondthaler, a native of Schoeneck, Pennsylvania, came to Salem, North Carolina, as pastor of the Moravian church there, a position which he held for thirty-one years. In 1891 he was consecrated a bishop of the Unitas Fratrum, or Moravian Church. During the half century which followed his coming, he grew steadily more influential in the affairs of his church and at the same time identified himself closely with the state of his adoption, winning a widespread popularity and affection, confined to no class, race, or creed.

Following a custom established by the founders of Wachovia from the beginning of the settlement, he prepared in 1877, and every year thereafter, a memorabilia which was read at the annual New Year's Eve service. These are printed in full in the present volume. In them are recorded the events and circumstances, all the happenings of each preceding year; and from them may be traced the course of life, not only of the Moravian congregation, or even of the community at large, but of the state as well. National, and to some extent international, events find reflection here also.

These annual records throw much light upon the pastoral relation of the writer with his people, and they reflect the deep spirituality of the man, showing at the same time, however, his interest in practical matters and public affairs. The volume, apart from its autobiographical interest and its value as church history, is important as a real contribution to local history. Salem, united to Winston some years after the coming of Bishop Rondthaler, under the title Winston-Salem, is in the centre of that

region of piedmont North Carolina which has had during the years covered by this record a striking industrial development. From a small and relatively unimportant community, the towns have grown until they make the largest city in the state. A great tobacco centre, other industries are not lacking.

The volume furnishes an interesting study of a typical piece of development in Southern industrialism. Along with that may be seen reflected here the growth of public education, of public health activities, the extension of gas, electricity, water, and sewerage—the transition, in other words, from a country village of post-bellum North Carolina to a modern and progressive small city. It is along these lines that the book has its chief value outside of its own community.

J. G. DE R. H.

Der Trust in seinem Entwicklungsgang vom Feoffee to Uses zur Amerikanischen Trust Company. Von Hermann M. Roth. (Marburg in Hesse, N. G. Elwert, 1928, pp. 320, 15 M.) Dr. Roth's book is an excellent survey of the development of the trust (in its legal, rather than its economic sense) in its various forms under English and American law. Based on extended study and a thorough knowledge of the sources in English, both primary and secondary, it offers the average English reader a comprehensive record such as is scarcely to be found in his own language. The author lays stress on the trust as an epitome of English legal history, and as a typical example of English legal institutions, which have had an unbroken and natural, largely empirical, growth. His development of this point of view, and his discussion of the characteristics of the legal development of that country (where he draws particularly on Maitland), and of America, are among the most interesting and valuable parts of his book.

The essential features of the trust developed earlier on the Continent than in England. Indeed, Roth begins with Roman law, though he specifically rejects the idea of any direct connection between the Roman *usus* and the Medieval *use*. Our trust concept was based chiefly on the old German *Treuhand*, a concept which was transferred to England, where also the distinction between legal and equitable title arose out of the feudal differentiation between the *seisin* and the *use* of land.

In its early development, the trust emphasized a personal, rather than a legal, relationship between trustee and beneficiary; indeed, it grew up outside the legal system, supported by popular conscience, later by the Church, and in the fifteenth century, gradually by equity law. The attitude of the Crown, upon whose rights it tended to infringe, was at first hostile; nevertheless, its application was extended from real to personal property, then to certain business forms, the executor function, the carrying out of charitable purposes, and especially to non-economic associations. More recent developments are the investment trust and the public trustee.

American contributions to the trust institution have been mainly in the nature of adaptation to our particular situation. The wide use of the business trust in general, the rapid extension of the investment trust in recent years, the great importance of the incorporated trust company—these are the most important features of trust history in America. That peculiarly American phenomenon, the use of the trust form for the development of monopolistic combinations, also receives notice.

In conclusion, the author deals with the possibilities (which he thinks are considerable) in the extended use of the trust form in Germany. The book is partly a testimonial to the German interest in all that goes to explain English and American economic success. It is well written, thorough, and should be useful, as well as interesting, not only to Germans as a suggestion for the future, but to the English and Americans as an historical explanation of the present.

MILDRED HARTSOUGH.

America's Naval Challenge. By Frederick Moore. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1929, pp. 166, \$1.50.) This book can not properly be classified as history. In fairness to his readers the author should have written a preface explaining that it is a use of certain historical facts for the purpose of emphasizing the needlessness of a programme of naval expansion on the part of the United States. In the absence of such an explanation, opinion on the book will vary according to the prejudices and predilections of the individual readers. By the advocates of a stronger navy it will be branded as sheer propaganda. By their opponents it will be hailed as a clear and informing statement of the problems involved in our naval policy and its relation to the maintenance of world peace. And both claims will be correct. If we accept Lord Bryce's definition of propaganda as "a war on opinion by opinion", it undeniably belongs in that category and loses nothing by being placed there. If we desire an interesting and thought-provoking discussion of the development of our naval programme since 1916, this book is pre-eminently worth reading.

Starting with the assertion that 1916 saw the inauguration by the United States of a programme of naval expansion which constitutes a direct challenge to Great Britain and Japan for a race in naval construction, he proceeds to show the effect of this programme upon President Wilson's plans for world peace. Then by sketching the general situation in the Pacific area, he lays the foundation for the Washington Conference and the programme of disarmament. Proceeding from this point, he brings out the inability of Great Britain and the United States to agree on further reductions because of the influence of naval authorities in both countries, and in his final chapter he attempts to show that since no single country can now afford to attack the United States, "only the further development of navalism here, causing ultimate foreign alliances against us, can bring such a thing as war about" (p. 141).

The author's style and methods are those of the journalist rather than of the historian. His selection of facts offers small ground for criticism, but he could have inspired more confidence in his work by citing his authorities. His conclusions are generally sound, but occasionally it is difficult to accept his speculations. For example, what is the basis for the statement (p. 137) that in his Armistice Day speech of 1928 President Coolidge "may have wanted to send a warning to England that her naval men must be curbed if ours here are to be defeated in their campaign"? There is no bibliography, and the index is not adequate.

WILLIAM C. BINKLEY.

Music and Musicians of Maine. By George Thornton Edwards. (Portland, Maine, Southworth Press, 1928, pp. xxviii, 542, \$7.50.) Local music histories are still rare in America. As forerunners of the work before us we might name Ernest C. Krohn's *A Century of Music in Missouri* (1921), Helen J. Andrus's *A Century of Music in Poughkeepsie* (1912), and Elizabeth P. Simons's *Music in Charleston from 1732 to 1919* (1927). Mr. Edwards's very welcome volume is a far more ambitious undertaking than any of these. With incredible industry he has gathered and digested such a mass of facts, names, and dates as must astound the average reader.

The author's researches extend from the early seventeenth century to the present day. In six chapters the musical life of what is now the state of Maine is recorded with varying degrees of minute fulness. Biographical and genealogical data are presented in a profusion without parallel in earlier works. The names of John Knowles Paine, Annie Louise Cary, and Lillian Nordica, all natives of the state, lend much lustre to its musical history, while Samuel Francis Smith, Frederick Nichols Crouch, Luther Whiting Mason, Hermann Kotzschmar, Luther Orlando Emerson, and Emma Eames resided there. Chapter VII. (122 pages) is devoted to a "Who's Who" of living musicians of Maine.

The almost complete absence of references to the sources which furnished the historical data is unfortunate. Exact references to the most important newspapers and to other records would have helped to make the book a model for other workers in similar fields. They would have aided the next musical historian of Maine in adding to the author's very complete lists of names of officers, conductors, and even the personnels of choral and instrumental ensembles the more important programmes of their performances, which (excepting the titles of larger choral works) are almost wholly lacking. For the completion of the musical picture they are practically indispensable. On the other hand, the portraits and other illustrations, numbering more than 150, and the sixty-three finely printed pages of classified indexes greatly increase the value and usefulness of the book, which is of necessity made up of innumerable small fragments which do not always lend themselves to continuous development or presentation. Musicians and historians alike owe a debt of

gratitude to this indefatigable chronicler, whose example deserves imitation in every other state of the Union.

OTTO KINKELDEY.

Canada in the Commonwealth: from Conflict to Co-operation. By the Rt. Hon. Sir Robert Borden, G.C.M.G., K.C. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1929, pp. xvi, 144, 7 s. 6 d.) This book contains the first Rhodes Memorial Lectures delivered at Oxford by a distinguished Canadian. In judging what Sir Robert Borden has written, his purpose must be constantly kept in mind. No outline of Canadian history has been attempted. Only the most dramatic incidents have been selected to impress British readers with the larger significance of the history of the dominion, and perhaps to prove that Canada is not "an empty land", with "air too thin to breathe".

Because of this emphasis on the dramatic, and the author's conviction that only the French occupation of the St. Lawrence and Acadia kept Canada from passing out of the British orbit, half of the book is devoted to the French period. These sketches are admittedly discursive, and there will be differences of opinion as to the selection and interpretation of details. The Quebec Act is hardly mentioned; two pages are devoted to the period from 1763 to 1791; and little attempt is made to review adequately the years when Canada achieved responsible government. Twenty-three pages cover the years from 1763 to 1914. A brief allusion to the War of 1812 fails to show the significance of the imperialism of the American West as the determining cause of the conflict.

The concluding chapters, dealing with the World War and culminating in the Imperial Conference of 1926, are by far the most valuable, for here the author can write in the first person. The reader gets interesting comments on the new conceptions of the constitutional relations of the British Commonwealth of Nations; on the rough and thorny path to complete dominion representation at the Peace Conference; and a good discussion of the necessity for separate Canadian legations. In 1927, when a Canadian minister to Washington was announced, the proposal did not include taking charge of the British embassy in the absence of the ambassador, as was originally suggested in 1920. Chapters XII. and XIII. describe the incidents of the Peace Conference and the Washington Disarmament Conference respectively.

A bibliography for each chapter has been appended. It is valuable, but one notes many significant omissions. The index is very brief. The book hardly gives even a bare epitome of Canadian history. It is written primarily to stimulate interest in the subject. Although its proportions are bad even for this purpose, it contains some penetrating observations by a scholarly statesman who has had no small part in the building of the "third British empire".

CARL WITKE.

HISTORICAL NEWS

July 1 Professor Henry E. Bourne assumes the managing editorship of this *Review*. He may be addressed at 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C., which will continue to be the official address of the *Review*.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The *Annual Report* of the American Historical Association for the year 1923 has been issued by the Government Printing Office (1929), a volume of 146 pages.

The Committee on Membership of the American Historical Association announces the following university representatives: J. P. Baxter, 3d, Harvard; C. F. Brand, Leland Stanford; Carl Christol, South Dakota; D. C. Clark, Oregon; W. F. Dunaway, Pennsylvania State; A. L. Dunham, Michigan; Glenn W. Gray, Nebraska; W. T. Hutchinson, Chicago; Paul Knaplund, Wisconsin; J. A. Krout, Columbia; O. G. Libby, North Dakota; J. C. Malin, Kansas; A. J. May, Rochester; John Musser, New York University; A. H. Noyes, Ohio State; J. W. Oliver, Pittsburgh; F. C. Palm, University of California at Berkeley; J. W. Pratt, Buffalo; N. V. Russell, University of California at Los Angeles; R. J. Sontag, Princeton; G. M. Stephenson, Minnesota; J. E. Swain, Illinois; P. W. Townsend, Indiana; and R. G. Trotter, Queen's University.

PERSONAL

Francis Aidan Gasquet died on April 5, at the age of 82. He was created a cardinal in 1914, was prefect of the Vatican archives, president of the international commission for the revision of the Vulgate, and a member of many other commissions. He had been from 1878 to 1884 Superior of the Benedictine Monastery and College of St. Gregory at Downside, and was especially interested in the ecclesiastical history of England. He was the author of more than a score of historical works, including *Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries* (1888-1889), *Edward VI. and the Book of Common Prayer* (1890), *The Great Pestilence* (1893), *The Eve of the Reformation* (1900), *Collectanea Anglo-Premonstratensia* (1904-1907), *Monastic Life in the Middle Ages* (1922), and *Cardinal Pole and His English Friends* (1927).

Guernsey Jones died on May 5, at the age of 60. He was professor of English history at the University of Nebraska, where he had taught for more than thirty years. He was the author of an "interesting monograph" *The Diplomatic Relations between Cromwell and Charles X. Gustavus of Sweden*, and his translations from sources have been widely used.

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Professor Edward P. Cheyney has been transferred to the newly endowed Henry Charles Lea Professorship of History in the University of Pennsylvania.

G. H. Ryden has been promoted to a full professorship and headship of the department of history and political science at the University of Delaware. Dr. Ryden is working in the field of international relations in the Pacific with especial reference to Samoa. Yale University awarded him the John Addison Porter Prize of \$500 for an essay in this field in June, 1928. He is also editing the Caesar Rodney letters, which are in the possession of the Historical Society of Delaware, and which will be published by that society some time this year.

Dr. Harlow Lindley has been made "curator of history for the state of Ohio". This is a newly created office in the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society at Columbus.

In Western Reserve University Professor Henry E. Bourne's work will be carried on by Mr. John W. Gough of Bristol University during the first semester and by Professor Robert B. Mowat, also of Bristol, during the second semester.

We note the following promotions or appointments: *Harvard University*, S. B. Fay of Smith College to be professor in Harvard and Radcliffe, under a new plan of appointments, jointly supported by both, J. B. Hedges of Clark University and Humphrey Sumner of Balliol College, Oxford, to give courses; *Tufts College*, A. H. Imlah to be assistant professor; *Smith College*, R. C. Binkley of New York University to be associate professor, and L. C. Hunter of the Carnegie Institute of Technology to be assistant professor; *Yale University*, J. M. S. Allison to be professor, and A. B. Darling to be associate professor; *Hamilton College*, G. L. Ridgeway of Colby College to be professor; *Colby College*, W. J. Wilkinson, who has been at the University of Vermont, to be professor; *Vassar College*, Miss Violet Barbour to be professor, and Miss Jean Birdsall assistant professor; *New York University*, A. A. Beaumont, jr., to be associate professor, and J. F. Scott, H. S. Commager, and Geoffrey Bruun to be assistant professors; *Columbia University*, Dr. Eileen Power of the University of London to be visiting professor of Medieval history, Allan Nevins to be professor in the graduate school, Professors J. T. Shotwell and E. M. Earle to return to their teaching in February, and J. M. Gambrill to be professor in Teachers College; *College of the City of New York*, W. I. Brandt of the University of Iowa to be associate professor; *Long Island University*, Leo Gershoy of the University of Rochester to be assistant professor; *University of Virginia*, O. J. Hale to be assistant professor; *University of Michigan*, Albert Hyma to be associate professor, A. H. Hirsch of Wesleyan University to teach in place of U. B. Phillips; *Western Reserve University*, R. M. Robbins of Washington State University and G. N. Steiger, on leave of absence from Simmons College, to be assistant professors;

University of Chicago, H. S. Lucas of the University of Washington to be associate professor; *University of Iowa*, C. W. Kiewiet to be assistant professor; *University of Nebraska*, Professor C. H. Oldfather to be chairman of the department in place of J. D. Hicks, who has become dean of the college of arts and sciences; *University of Washington*, Miss Ebba Dahlin and C. E. Quainton to be assistant professors; *University of Oregon*, G. V. Blue to be assistant professor; *Stanford University*, R. H. Lutz to be professor, and Professor C. W. Hackett of the University of Texas to give courses during the winter and spring sessions; *University of California*, F. C. Palm to be associate professor; *University of California, at Los Angeles*, W. F. Adams to be assistant professor.

The following appointments for summer schools are noted in addition to those mentioned in the last two numbers: *Harvard University*, Professor W. E. Lingelbach of the University of Pennsylvania; *Cornell University*, Professor G. A. Hedger of the University of Cincinnati, Professor F. H. Hodder of the University of Kansas, Professor L. H. Jenks of Rollins College, and Professor F. B. Marsh of the University of Texas; *University of Pennsylvania*, Professor W. E. Lunt of Haverford College; *Pennsylvania State College*, Professor A. P. James of the University of Pittsburgh, Professor A. H. Sweet of Washington and Jefferson College, and Professor J. O. Knauss of Western State Teachers College; *University of Pittsburgh*, Professor C. H. Oldfather of the University of Nebraska; *College of William and Mary*, Professor E. E. Daly of the University of Oklahoma; *University of Virginia*, Professor P. S. Flippin of Coker College; *University of Alabama*, Professor L. B. Schmidt of Iowa State College; *University of Michigan*, Professor W. K. Boyd of Duke University, Professor G. M. Dutcher of Wesleyan University, and Professor W. T. Laprade of Duke University; *University of Illinois*, Professor A. E. Martin of Pennsylvania State College; *Northwestern University*, Professor J. D. Hicks of the University of Nebraska; *University of Nebraska*, Professor R. T. Johanneson of Mississippi College for Women; *University of California*, Professor W. S. Ferguson of Harvard University, Professor A. H. Lybyer of the University of Illinois, Professor T. M. Marshall of Washington University, Professor J. C. Parish of the University of California at Los Angeles, and Professor P. J. Treat of Stanford University.

Professor F. M. Fling, of the University of Nebraska, is to spend next year in Europe working on the final volume of his *Mirabeau* and the French Revolution. The first volume, *The Youth of Mirabeau*, was published in 1908 (see XV. 371); the second volume, *Mirabeau, an Opponent of Absolutism*, is complete in manuscript; the third volume will be entitled *Mirabeau, the Defender of Constitutional Monarchy*.

The following announcements of fellowships and grants awarded to historians for the year 1929-1930 have been made: Professor Ulrich B. Phillips has received an Albert Kahn fellowship and will spend next year

in a trip around the world, including a visit to the Soudan. Fellowships have been awarded by the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation: to M. E. Curti, for studies in the interrelations of European and American pacifism; to Jacob Hammer, Geoffrey of Monmouth; to H. S. Lucas, Flanders, 1280-1360; to Sidney R. Packard, Norman institutions, 1189-1228; to L. D. Steefel, first year of Bismarck's ministry; to Dorothy Stimson, ecclesiasticism and scientific thought in England, seventeenth century; to A. B. Thomas, frontiers of New Mexico, 1778-1789; to A. P. Whitaker, Spanish régime in Louisiana; and to Judith B. Williams, efforts in England to open markets for the products of the Industrial Revolution. The American Council of Learned Societies made grants in aid of research to Viola F. Barnes, Mount Holyoke College, for expenses incidental to research in British archives on England's new policy after 1763 and its effect on the colonial empire of Great Britain; Edgar B. Graves, Hamilton College, for expenses of travel incidental to research in the Public Record Office, London, and in the archiepiscopal archives of York and Lincoln on problems connected with the Statute of Praemunire of 1353; R. F. Nichols, University of Pennsylvania, for securing photostat copies of letters of Franklin Pierce, in private possession, for use in writing a biography of Franklin Pierce. Dr. Frederick Tilberg of the University of North Dakota has been granted one of the American-Scandinavian fellowships for 1929-1930. He will continue his study of Swedish-American commercial relations in Stockholm and some of the northern German cities.

We mention the following leaves of absence for the year 1929-1930, in addition to those already noted: *Harvard University*, W. C. Abbott for the second half and Frederick Merk for the year; *Hamilton College*, M. L. Bonham, jr., for the year, which he will spend studying the history of Canada; *Wells College*, Frances H. Relf, for 1929-1931, which she will spend continuing her research on the diaries concerned with the sessions of Parliament in the early seventeenth century; *Columbia University*, C. D. Hazen and Frederick Barry during the second session, J. M. Gambrill during the year, and F. R. Flournoy of St. Stephens College for the second session; *University of Pennsylvania*, W. W. Hyde for the year, which he will spend making an extended research tour of the Near East, Southern Russia, and Greece; *University of Wisconsin*, J. L. Sellers for the first session, which he will spend studying the economic history of the South; *Stanford University*, P. A. Martin during the year; *University of California*, W. A. Morris for the year.

GENERAL

General review: Gino Luzzatto, *Rassegna di Storia Economica* (Nuova Rivista Storica, January).

The Royal Historical Society invites essays in competition for the Alexander Prize. The candidates may choose their own subjects but

must submit their choices for the approval of the literary director. The essays must show signs of original research, must not exceed 10,000 words in length, and must be sent in on or before March 31, 1930. Those interested should apply for further particulars to the Secretary, Royal Historical Society, 22 Russell Square, London, W. C. 1.

American historians will enjoy the generous praise and tactful criticism in Professor T. F. Tout's presidential address at the meeting of the Royal Historical Society this year. His subject was History and Historians in America.

The first meeting of the Comité International d'Histoire des Sciences was held at Paris, May 20 to 25. This important committee was appointed at the International Congress of the Historical Sciences at Oslo last August. The original seven members included Professor Lynn Thorndike of Columbia University, and Dr. George Sarton. Since then fifteen others have been elected to the committee, of whom four are Americans, Professors Florian Cajori, David Eugene Smith, Charles H. Haskins, and Louis C. Karpinski. At the meeting there was a programme of papers and a discussion of possible international coöperation in the history of science. Professor Thorndike was in attendance to represent the interests of the History of Science Society, of which he is president.

The Agricultural History Society held its twelfth annual meeting in Washington, April 29, with thirty-five members present. Professor E. Merton Coulter of the University of Georgia was elected president, Professor Rodney H. True of the University of Pennsylvania vice-president, Dr. O. C. Stine of the United States Department of Agriculture secretary-treasurer; and Miss Clarabel R. Barnett of the same department and Professor Arthur P. Whitaker of Western Reserve University were chosen members of the executive committee. An amendment to the constitution was adopted providing for an increase of annual dues from two to three dollars, an increase which had become necessary in order to place the society's publication, *Agricultural History*, upon a firm financial basis. Two particularly noteworthy addresses were delivered at the meeting, one by the retiring president, Dr. Solon J. Buck, on Some Materials available to Research Workers on Agricultural History, the other by Dr. L. O. Howard, until recently chief of the Bureau of Entomology, on the History of Economic Entomology. In addition, Mr. E. W. Allen, chief of the Office of Experiment Stations, spoke of the work of the late Dr. A. C. True, and Mr. Herbert A. Kellar of the McCormick Agricultural Library, Chicago, described the plans for the agricultural section of the Rosenwald Museum.

The January number of *Agricultural History* contains the paper of Professor Arthur P. Whitaker, the Spanish Contribution to American Agriculture, read before the society at Indianapolis in December, 1928; that of Dr. Carl R. Woodward, Agricultural Legislation in Colonial New Jersey, read before the society at the Washington meeting in December,

1927; and an article by Bernhard Ostrolenk on the Henry C. Mercer Museum ("The Museum of the Bucks County Historical Society").

The first number of *Social Science Abstracts* appeared in March and contained summaries of 781 articles. Of these nearly one-fourth were concerned with history. The abstracts are non-critical and are intended to be informational rather than descriptive. The editors plan a world-wide service and are securing the coöperation of several research institutes in Europe. An author index is given in each number. As each monthly issue appears the value of these abstracts becomes more evident; no historical student can afford to neglect this source of information. The editorial and executive offices are in Fayerweather Hall, Columbia University, New York City.

Research in the Social Sciences, edited by Wilson Gee, contains nine lectures delivered at the Institute for Research in the Social Sciences of the University of Virginia, in 1926. The purpose was to set forth the objectives and methods of research in each of the various fields. These aims were kept more or less clearly in mind by each of the lecturers, Robert E. Park, Allyn A. Young, Clark Wissler, Robert E. Chaddock, Robert S. Woodworth, Roscoe Pound, Arthur M. Schlesinger, John Dewey, Charles A. Beard. Students of history will naturally turn first to Schlesinger's brilliant exposition, and after reading that will be convinced that if they wish to attain to the standard set by him they must read and digest all the other lectures; and they will be amply repaid. It would be invidious to single out any one for special praise (New York, Macmillan, 1929, pp. x, 305).

Among the articles in *History* for April are a Plea for the Study of Contemporary History, the Creighton Lecture, by Professor R. W. Seton-Watson, an article on Admiral de Ruyter, by Professor G. Geyl, and an important "Historical Revision", the Medieval University of Oxford, by the Rev. H. E. Salter.

The *Journal of Modern History* for June contains four articles: Louis XIV.'s Financial Relations with Charles II. and the English Parliament, by C. L. Grose, Electoral System in France during the Bourbon Restoration, by F. B. Artz, Abortive German-American-Chinese Entente of 1907-1908, by Luella J. Hall, Conditions and Tendencies of Historical Writing in Italy Today, by Corrado Barbagallo; an unpublished letter of Auguste Comte, edited by Wilhelm Pauck; an appreciation of Frank Alfred Golder, by H. H. Fisher. The bibliographical article is mentioned elsewhere in this number. The review article, the American Angle of the World War, is by D. P. Myers. In addition there are reviews and a bibliography of works published. This magazine is supplying a much felt need in a satisfactory manner.

With volume XV., no. 1 (April), Dr. Guilday, Dr. Stratemeier, and Dr. Stock assume the editorship of the *Catholic Historical Review*. This num-

ber contains an excellent account of the proceedings of the ninth annual meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association, at which Dr. Leo F. Stock was elected president; the address of the outgoing president, J. C. Fitzpatrick, on George Washington and Religion; and an interesting article by C. L. Souvay, C.M., on the Paschal Controversy under Pope Victor I. In the "miscellany" Dr. Stratemeier gives an account of the Vatican School of Palaeography, Diplomatics, and Archivistics, and its work. Under the guidance of such an able board of editors the *Review* is assured of success.

The *General Magazine and Historical Chronicle*, formerly the *Alumni Register*, published by the General Alumni Society, University of Pennsylvania, has, in the April number, an article by Professor E. P. Cheyney entitled What Marco Polo Did for Europe, one by Arthur E. Bye on Benjamin West, and one by George D. Budd entitled Four Years of the University of Pennsylvania: a History of the Class of 1862.

Three articles in the April number of the *Journal of Negro History* each deal with an aspect of the negro in business, tracing the history of his participation with a discussion of present conditions. The articles are: the Negro as a Local Business Man, by J. H. Harmon, jr.; the Negro in Banking, by Arnett G. Lindsay; and Insurance Business among Negroes, by C. G. Woodson. Under the title "A Tragedy of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries" Judge William R. Riddell contributes, with introduction and notes, "The Humble Petition of Emanuel Barselia a Spanish mallata", presented to Governor Joseph Dudley of Massachusetts Bay, Apr. 12, 1709. Barselia, a freeman who had been captured by privateers on the South American coast about thirty-one years before and sold into slavery, was seeking restoration to his freedom.

The April number of the *Historical Outlook* contains an article by Professor Bartlett Brebner of Columbia University entitled the Eleventh Year of Soviet Russia, in which the conditions in Russia are broadly sketched, the more important recent episodes related, and the chief problems discussed. Three articles pertain to the teaching of history: one by Professor D. C. Knowlton discussing the question of improving the quality of instruction with the aid of the photoplay, one by W. G. Kimmel of the state department of education of New York discoursing upon Trends in the Teaching of History, and one by Mrs. H. S. Brown, of Claremont, Cal., respecting the methods used in secondary schools. In the May number Professor Edgar J. Fisher of Robert College, Constantinople, discusses the Stability of the New Turkish Republic, and Professor G. G. Benjamin of the University of Southern California reviews, in a clarifying manner, the Recent Documents and Literature on the Outbreak of the World War.

The volume of essays, which was to have been published by Georg von Below's pupils and friends, in honor of his seventieth birthday, has, by reason of his lamented death, been transformed into a memorial. In

view of the large number of contributions, it has been expanded into two volumes: one, *Aus Politik und Geschichte*, contains seventeen contributions in the fields of political history and historical theory (Berlin, Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft für Politik und Geschichte, 1928, pp. x, 362); the other, *Aus Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, has thirteen essays in social and economic history (*ibid.*, 1928, pp. vii, 369). Among others, attention may be directed to the following studies: Hermann Haering's "Treitschke und seine Religion", Fritz Kern's "Der Deutsche Staat und die Politik des Römerzuges", Joseph Ahlhaus's "Civitas und Diözese", in the first volume; Fedor Schneider's "Staatliche Siedlung im Frühen Mittelalter", Alfred Schultze's "Das Testament Karls des Grossen", Rudolf Häpke's "Die Oekonomische Landschaft und die Gruppenstadt in der Aelteren Wirtschaftsgeschichte", Walter Tuckermann's "Das Deutschtum in Kanada", in the second.

The Naval War College has published through the Government Printing Office (1929) *International Law Situations with Solutions and Notes* (1927). The situations are Goods on Neutral Vessels, Visit and Search, Armed Merchant Vessels. In the appendix are given the laws of various countries for the admission of foreign warships to their ports and harbors. There is a full index.

The Yale University Press has published for the Council on Foreign Relations a revised and enlarged *Political Handbook of the World* (1929). For each of sixty-three countries, including in this edition the United States, there are given the capital, area, population, ruler, cabinet, premier (if any), and parliament, followed by a summary of party programmes and leaders, and a list of the more important newspapers with their political affiliations and proprietors or editors; in the United States section the circulation is given for each paper listed. The space allotted to a country varies from a single page to ten pages each for France and the United States. The editors are Malcolm W. Davis and Walter H. Mallory, and they have produced an indispensable work of reference in this volume of 198 pages.

J. H. Clapham, professor of economic history at Cambridge, gave in his inaugural lecture, entitled *The Study of Economic History*, a very interesting sketch of the development of the study, and of the relation of economic history to economics and to history (Cambridge University Press, 1929).

René Maunier's *Introduction à la Sociologie* (Paris, Alcan, 1929, pp. 112) is the product of his lectures at the École des Hautes Études Sociales. The last third on the history of sociology is of interest to historians.

The versatile Sidney Dark has written another book, *Twelve Bad Men* (Crowell). In it he furnishes biographical sketches, averaging about 5000 words each, of Louis XI., Cesare Borgia, Cellini, Thomas

Cromwell, Mazarin, Judge Jeffreys, Marlborough, Frederick the Great, Casanova, Talleyrand, Fouché, Robespierre. The volume is not to be taken seriously.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Douglas Jerrold, *Oswald Spengler and the Meaning of History* (English Review, April); Rabbi Isaac Herzog, *Moral Rights and Duties in Jewish Law* (Juridical Review, March 1); Col. C. M. Bundel, *Is the Study of Military History Worth While?* (Infantry Journal, March); Corrado Barbagallo, *Economia Antica e Moderna*, concl. (Nuova Rivista Storica, January); Charles S. Lobingier, *The History of the Conjugal Partnership* (American Law Review, March-April-May).

ANCIENT HISTORY

Geuthner has reprinted the *Supplément aux Éléments de Bibliographie Hittite* (see *A. H. R.*, XXIX. 623) which G. Contenau published in *Babyloniaca*, vol. X., parts 1-3. The bibliography contains about 950 titles. The activity in Hittite studies is indicated by the fact that this Supplement contains nearly 400 titles for the years 1922 to 1926 (Paris, 1927, pp. 76).

Wagner and Debes (Leipzig) are publishing the Kromayer-Veith *Schlachten-Atlas zur Antiken Kriegsgeschichte*, consisting of 34 plates containing 120 maps, with explanatory text; part V. contains maps illustrating the campaigns of Alexander the Great and Caesar's Gallic Wars.

Pierre Jouguet has written "an excellent sequel to the ordinary histories of Greece", *Macedonian Imperialism and the Hellenization of the East* (London, Kegan Paul, 1929).

Of the *Catalogue des Manuscrits Alchimiques Grecs* (Brussels, Lamertin), which is progressing under the auspices of the Union Académique Internationale and the supervision of M. Bidez and his associates, five volumes have appeared, listing and describing the manuscripts of Paris, Italy, the British Isles, and Spain, with a volume presenting Michael Psellus *Περὶ Χρυσόπουλας*, ed. Bidez.

The Oxford University Press will publish in the near future a Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome by S. B. Platner.

Professor A. E. R. Boak has made many additions to the text in his revision of his *History of Rome to 565 A.D.* (Macmillan). The maps are enlarged and colored and two have been added, as have also genealogical tables and several plates.

A new book on Byzantine history is being written by the Austrian scholar, Ernst Stein. The first volume of this *Geschichte des Spät-römischen Reiches* deals with the years 284-476 (Vienna, Seidel, 1928, pp. xxii, 592), the second will continue to 641. Like Seeck's far more

comprehensive work, it is destined both for scholars and for a popular audience.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Alexandre Moret, *Un Événement Archéologique; les Tombes Royales d'Our* (Revue des Deux Mondes, February 1); J. Toutain, *La Magie dans l'Égypte Antique* (Journal des Savants, March); Walther Wolf, *Der Berliner Ptah-Hymnus* (Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde, LXIV. 1); B. Ebbell, *Die Aegyptischen Drogenamen* (*ibid.*); William F. Edgerton, *A Clause in the Marriage Settlements* (*ibid.*); Ch. Picard, *Le Palais de Minos à Cnossos, I.* (Journal des Savants, March); Georges Radet, *Aornos* (*ibid.*, February); Carl Koehne, *Die Gründe von Cäsars Schnellem Rückzug aus Deutschland im Jahre 53 v. Chr.* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, XXIV. 4); Thomas J. Pitts, *The Rise and Progress of the Roman Law* (American Law Review, March-April-May); P. J. Hughesdon, *Factors in the Fall of the Western Empire* (Sociological Review, January).

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

St. Paul, by Emile Baumann, is a translation of a French work which has already gone through eighty editions. The book will probably appeal to many in this country because of its orthodox point of view and lack of critical spirit (Harcourt, Brace).

One of the last works of the late Pierre Batiffol was a new study of *Saint Grégoire le Grand* (Paris, Gabalda, 1928, pp. 236).

The Cambridge University Press announces a volume of *Studies in Eusebius*, by J. Stephenson, which contains among other subjects chapters on the great persecutions and the outbreak of the Arian controversy.

Noteworthy article in periodical: Paul Monceaux, *Le Pape Grégoire le Grand*, I., concl. (Journal des Savants, January, February).

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

St. Michael's College in the University of Toronto has established an Institute of Mediaeval Studies which will be under the direction of Professor Étienne Gilson of the Sorbonne.

Students of Medieval history will welcome the announcement by the Oxford University Press of *Studies in Mediaeval Culture*, by Professor Charles H. Haskins. This will contain twelve chapters of which three are entirely new; the other nine are revisions of articles which have appeared in various periodicals, including three from this *Review*. It is expected that the volume will be ready early in the fall.

In *Speculum* for April Miss Hilda Johnstone has a valuable article on Poor-Relief in the Royal Households of Thirteenth-Century England, and Samuel H. Cross one on Yaroslav the Wise in Norse Tradition. Kenneth J. Conant contributes Preliminary Restoration Drawings of

the Abbey Church, the second report on the excavations at Cluny. There are also important notes on l'Éducation Scientifique de Boèce, by R. Bonnaud, and on l'Harmonie des Sphères selon Boèce, by R. Bragard. E. K. Rand has a short note on Franco-Saxon Ornamentation in a Book of Tours, illustrated by four plates. Helen R. Bittermann discusses the legend of Harun Ar-Rashid's gift of an organ to Charlemagne.

In the *Analecta Bollandiana*, XLVII., fasc. I. and II., are especially to be noted the papers by M. H. Delehaye, l'Hagiographie Ancienne de Ravenne, and by Maurice Coens, Les Vierges Martyres de Cologne d'après un Ouvrage Récent. The latter is especially interesting, upon a subject which has long been hotly discussed.

Quellen und Forschungen, XX., contains five important contributions, including many previously unpublished documents: Ohnsorge describes Eine Ebracher Briefsammlung des XII. Jahrhunderts and edits twelve letters from it; Hampe, in Ein Sizilischer Legatenbericht an Innocenz III. aus dem Jahre 1204, adds six more letters to those which he has already edited from the "Capuaner Sammlung"; Vehse writes on Benevent und die Kurie unter Nicolaus IV.; with six documents. Baethgen, in a monograph of 124 pages, gives an important discussion and much material for the Geschichte der Päpstlichen Hof- und Finanzverwaltung unter Bonifaz VIII.; and Erdmann discusses the second and least known phase of the Council of Trent in the article entitled Die Wiedereröffnung des Trienter Konzils durch Julius III., to which he appends nineteen documents. In addition Otto Vehse edits the 1300 A.D. copy of Clement III.'s Privileg für San Niccolò am Tordino, indicating which portions are genuine; and Ludwig Bertalot adds a contemporary Descriptio Coniurationis Patavine by Jacob Zenus.

Of the first nine volumes in the thirteen-volume *Histoire du Monde*, under the direction of M. Cavaignac, the first is *Prolégomènes*; two deal with the Mediterranean world up to the fifth century A.D., four with India and China, and one with Pre-Columbian America. Volume VII. is *Chrétienté et Islam*; part II., *La Chrétienté Médiévale*, by M. A. Fliche, is written mainly along traditional lines; the Byzantine Empire here, as usual, receives scant treatment. There are no notes or other apparatus. Frequently statements are very inexact, for example, "Le sac de Rome [in 410], qui en trois jours transforme le temple de la civilisation antique en un monceau de ruines fumantes, est le dernier exploit du chef wisigoth qui meurt aussitôt dans l'Italie du sud, tandis que son armée se débande". (Paris, Boccard, 1929, pp. xviii, 501.)

The biography, *Ramon Lull*, published by the S. P. C. K. (London) is said to be both scholarly and interesting, the first satisfactory life. The author, E. Allison Peers, has made a thorough study of the man and of his times.

A new edition of Sir Paul Vinogradoff's excellent *Roman Law in Mediaeval Europe* is announced by the Oxford University Press. It is edited by Professor F. de Zulueta.

The rich store of Franciscana is further increased by an *Histoire de la Fondation et de l'Évolution de l'Ordre des Frères Mineurs au XIIIe Siècle* (Paris, Libr. Saint-François; Gembloux, Duculot, 1928, pp. xxiv, 699), by P. Gratien, O.M.C.

The "Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome" continues its important publication of the *Lettres Communes des Papes d'Avignon*, analyzed from the registers of Avignon and of the Vatican. Vol. IX., fasc. 21, is a quarto volume devoted to *Jean XXII., 1316-1334*, edited by G. Mollat, professor at Strasbourg (Paris, Boccard, 1929, pp. 272). The "Bibliothèque" sponsors also two valuable and solidly documented works by B. A. Pocquet du Haut-Jussé, *Les Papes et les Ducs de Bretagne; Essai sur les Rapports du Saint-Siège avec un État* (*ibid.*, 1929, 2 vols., pp. xxiv, 944) and *François II., Duc de Bretagne et d'Angleterre*, describing the efforts of this duke to resist with English aid the encroachments of Charles VII. and Louis XI. upon his local autonomy (*ibid.*, 1929, pp. 344).

Analecta Bollandiana, XLVI., fasc. 3 and 4, contains the last chapter of Delehay's important study of *Lettres d'Indulgence Collectives*.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Alexander Cartellieri, *Kaiser Otto II.* (Beiträge zur Thüringischen und Sächsischen Geschichte, Festschrift für Otto Dobenecker); Ivan Pusino, *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien und in Russland* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXL. 1); Édouard Perroy, *Charles V. et le Traité de Brétigny* (Moyen Age, September-December); A. Leman, *Un Traité Inédit relatif au Grand Schisme d'Occident; Propositions de Chrétien Coc, Doyon de Saint-Pierre de Comines, au Synode de Lille de 1384* (Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, April); André Bellessort, *Un Pape Humaniste, Pie II.* (Revue des Deux Mondes, January 1); Ernest Bock, *Monarchie, Einung und Territorium im Späteren Mittelalter; ein Beitrag zur Deutschen Verfassungsgeschichte* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, XXIV. 4).

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

The most recent addition to the *Histoire Générale* of MM. Halphen and Sagnac is vol. VIII., *Les Débuts de l'Age Moderne; la Renaissance et la Réforme*, by Henri Hauser and A. Renaudet (Paris, Alcan, 1929, pp. 624).

The History of Science Society has just received a subvention of \$7500 from the Carnegie Corporation of New York for the establishment of a revolving publication fund. It hopes to publish very shortly as the first volume under this subvention an English translation (the first) of Copernicus's *De Revolutionibus Orbium Coelestium*. Two other manuscripts are awaiting publication.

A document of the first importance for the military history of the sixteenth century is the journal of Emanuele Filiberto, one of the best generals of Charles V. and Philip II. and founder of the modern house of Savoy. It is published by Elvira Brunelli under the title *I Diari delle Campagne di Fiandra*, with preface by P. Egidi (Turin, Società Storica Subalpina, 1928, pp. xix, 207).

Though there have been many books on the history of the Medieval republic of Genoa, no study has hitherto been made of the city during the period of French domination. This lacuna is now filled by Jean Borel's *Gênes sous Napoléon Ier, 1805-1814* (Paris, Attinger, 1929, pp. 232).

The biography of Karl Marx by Otto Rühle has been translated into English by Eden and Cedar Paul, and published by the Viking Press under the title, *Karl Marx, his Life and Work*. The biography almost of necessity includes a study of the political and economic trends of Europe in the nineteenth century.

Graf Benckendorff's *Diplomatische Schriftwechsel* (Berlin and Leipzig, de Gruyter, 3 vols.) is a new edition of B. von Siebert's *Diplomatische Aktenstücke zur Geschichte der Entente-politik der Vorkriegsjahre*, published in 1921 (see *Review*, XXVIII. 122), and contains two hundred additional documents.

To the series of Stanford Books in World Politics Professor Norman L. Hill has contributed *The Public International Conference, its Function, Organization, and Procedure* (Stanford University Press, pp. xi, 267). It includes an historical sketch of the conference as a factor in international relations, and emphasizes especially the Hague Conference, the Paris Peace Conference, and the conferences at Washington (1921-1922), at Genoa (1922), and at Havana (1928).

Edgar Vincent, first Baron d'Abernon, British post-war ambassador to Germany, has published his diary under the title *Versailles to Rapallo, 1920-1922* (Doubleday, Doran).

Nine Years of the League of Nations, by Denys P. Myers, has been published by the World Peace Foundation.

Wilfrid Parsons, S.J., editor of *America*, has published through that press the *Pope and Italy* (pp. 134), an eighty-page discussion of the recent pact, followed by the texts of the treaty, concordat, and financial convention and a translation of an account of the agreement which appeared in the *Osservatore Romano*, Feb. 12-13, 1929.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Clemente Bauer, *Studi per la Storia delle Finanze Papali* (Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria, L. 3-4); R. H. Bainton, *The Development and Consistency of Luther's Attitude to Religious Liberty* (Harvard Theological Review, April); Carlo Segrè, *L'Erelyn à Venezia, 1645-1646* (Nuova Antologia.

February 16); Otto Hintze, *Karl XII. und Peter der Grosse vor Pultawa 1709* (Preussische Jahrbücher, February); Alexandre Burner, *Le Poète Destouches, Diplomate; sa Mission à Londres, 1717-1723* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XLIII. 2); J. Carreyre, *Le Concile d'Embrun, 1727-1728*, II. (Revue des Questions Historiques, April); Richard Lodge, *The Treaty of Worms* (English Historical Review, April); René Pinon, *Louis XVI., Vergennes, et la Grande Lutte contre l'Angleterre* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XLIII. 1); Guido Bustico, *L'Alleanza di Gioacchino Murat con l'Austria e l'Inghilterra* (Nuova Antologia, April 1); Julien Grossbart, *La Politique Polonaise de la Révolution Française jusqu'aux Traités de Bâle*, I. (Annales Historiques de la Révolution Française, January); Paul Marmottan, *Lucchésini, Ambassadeur de Prusse à Paris*, II. (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XLIII. 1); Heinrich Prösch, *Ein Englischer Bündnisführer im Jahre 1876* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, XXIV. 4); R. Pinon, *Entre les Deux Guerres; l'Expansion Coloniale et l'Alliance Franco-Russe, 1875-1898* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, January-March); Otto Hintze, *Der Moderne Kapitalismus als Historisches Individuum; ein Kritischer Bericht über Sombarts Werk* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXXIX. 3); C. A. Beard, *The Political Heritage of the Twentieth Century* (Yale Review, spring); Ernest Seillière, *La Correspondance de H. St. Chamberlain avec Guillaume II.* (Revue des Deux Mondes, February 15); August Urbanowski, *Die Jungtürkische Revolution 1908 und der Weltkrieg* (Kriegsschuldfrage, March); Graf Manfredi Gravina, *Italien als Bundesgenosse* (Preussische Jahrbücher, April); Joh. Victor Bredt, *Italien als Bundesgenosse* (*ibid.*); Casimir Smogorzewski, *La Pologne, l'Allemagne et le "Corridor"* (Mercure de France, March 15).

WORLD WAR

There are three important additions to the economic and social history of the World War, published by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace by the Yale University Press. *Austrian War Government* is by Joseph Redlich, whose competence is well known. *The War and the Russian Government* is in two parts: the *Effects of the War upon the Central Government*, by P. P. Gronskey, and the *Effects of the War upon Russian Municipal Government and the All-Russian Union of Towns*, by N. J. Astrov. Gronskey was formerly professor at Petrograd and a member of the Duma; Astrov was formerly mayor of Moscow and chairman of the Central Committee of the All-Russian Union of Towns. In *Russian Schools and Universities in the World War*, D. M. Odinetz writes on Primary and Secondary Schools, P. J. Novgorotsev on Universities and Higher Technical Schools. The introduction, very fittingly, is by Count Ignatiev, formerly minister of education, as the volume dwells largely upon the reforms which he attempted to introduce. It is of great interest and importance for an understanding of Russian conditions.

For the "Collection de Mémoires, Études et Documents pour servir à l'Histoire de la Guerre Mondiale" has been prepared a *Précis d'Histoire de la Guerre Navale, 1914-1918*, by Captain Adolphe Laurens. Under his direction the officers of the section have prepared elaborate monographs, which will probably not be published; these serve as a basis for this general work in which all the important naval operations are briefly summarized. There are 4 maps, and indexes of persons, vessels, and places (Paris, Payot, pp. 300).

The fifth volume of the official history, *Der Weltkrieg, 1914 bis 1918*, has been published by Mittler (Berlin).

Maréchal Petain's study of *La Bataille de Verdun* is published by Payot (Paris).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Ralph H. Lutz, *The Hoover War Library* (Contemporary Review, April); *König Carols Tagebuch zum Kriegausbruch 1914* (Kriegsschuldfrage, March); *Mobilisierungen ohne Krieg* (Der Krieg, March); *Mobilisierung und Kriegswille* (ibid., April); *Montgelas, Fay, und die Militärkonvention* (ibid.); B. H. Liddell Hart, *Behind the German Front: Sidelights of Reality, 1914-1918* (Fighting Forces, April); *Konstantinopel und die Meerengen* (Kriegsschuldfrage, April); Stéphane Lausanne, *Marshal Foch's Story of the Armistice* (Quartermaster Review, March-April); Général Mordacq, *Le Commandement Unique; Récit d'un Témoin* [1918] (Revue des Deux Mondes, April 15).

GREAT BRITAIN

General review: Ch. Bémont, *Histoire de Grande-Bretagne*, I. (Revue Historique, January).

The Public Record Office has published no. LII. in its folio series of *Lists and Indexes*, which contains a list of Foreign Office Records to 1878. This supersedes no. XLI., published in 1914, which extended only to 1837 (London, H. M. Stationery Office, 1929, pp. viii, 431, £2).

The *Twentieth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts* (1928) records the publications of the following reports: Dropmore MSS., vol. X., which concludes the series; vol. I. of four on the Hastings MSS., containing a calendar of over 1300 deeds ranging from the twelfth to the seventeenth centuries; vol. III. on the Buccleuch MSS., the first volume on the Manuscripts of Lord de L'Isle and Dudley, with miscellaneous contents, and the second volume on the Laing MSS. The commissioners also report that there are six volumes of reports in press and eleven volumes ready for printing in addition to the completion, "running to more than six volumes, of the report on the Cecil Manuscripts".

A new edition of the *Catalogue of Manuscripts and other Objects in the Museum of the Public Record Office* has been issued by the Stationery Office (price 1 s.). Its numerous illustrations of Medieval manuscripts

and modern signatures and letters give it a value beyond that of the usual official catalogue.

The Commissioners of Works have published for the first time a complete list of more than 2500 monuments in England, Wales, and Scotland, to which state protection has been granted under the Ancient Monuments Act of 1913. The list may be obtained for one shilling from H. M. Stationery Office, and includes prehistoric camps, stone barrows, abbeys, castles, etc., arranged by counties.

The *Bulletin* of the Institute of Historical Research (London), for February (vol. VI., no. 18), contains the conclusions of the Early Records of the English Parliaments, by H. G. Richardson and George Sayles, of the Accessibility of Foreign Archives, including a long section for the United States furnished by Dr. Leland, and of the unpublished poem on Bishop Gardiner, and summaries of two theses: Public Borrowing, 1640-1660, by W. P. Harper, and the Development of Charity Schools in England and Wales, 1700 to 1800, by H. J. Larcombe.

In the autumn Murray (London) will publish the *Kings of England, 1066-1901*, by the Hon. Clive Bigham. It will contain a short account of the private life and the public policy of each of the thirty-six sovereigns from William the Conqueror through Victoria.

Vol. XV. of the *Camden Miscellany* contains six parts. The longest, Select Tracts and Table Books relating to English Weights and Measures (1100-1742), edited by Hubert Hall and Frieda J. Nicholas, is full of interesting material, and may save students from errors; in an appendix is a useful list of authorities. A Transcript of "The Red Book" of the Bishopric of Hereford (c. 1290), edited by Canon Bannister, is a detailed account of the archbishop's estates in the thirteenth century, consisting of twenty manors. Edward II., The Lords Ordainers, and Piers Gaveston's Jewels and Horses (1312-1313), edited by R. A. Roberts, relates to the negotiations for the surrender to the king of the jewels and horses. The Table of Canterbury Archbishopric Charters, edited by Irene J. Churchill, is from a parchment volume in the Public Record Office; there is an excellent index. The other two parts are very short: the narrative of an English Prisoner in Paris during the Terror (1793-1794), edited by V. T. Harlow, a graphic account of fifteen months in the Conciergerie and Luxembourg prisons; an Early Admiralty Case (1361), edited by Charles Johnson, dealing with a case of piracy.

A useful and interesting introduction to that unique and important source of English law, the Medieval Reports, has been written by Jacques Lambert, professor in the law faculty of Lyons and research fellow at Harvard, under the title *Les Year Books de Langue Française* (Paris, Librairie du Recueil Sirey, 1928, pp. 156).

Bémont's *Simon de Montfort* has been translated by E. A. Jacob, who has also included the results of later research, so that the result is largely

a new work. Jacob is the author of *Studies in the Period of Baronial Reform and Rebellion*, which was reviewed in this journal, XXXI. 821. The volume is to be published by the Oxford University Press.

In the University of Colorado *Studies* for February 'E. F. Meyer begins a study of English Craft Gilds and Borough Governments of the Later Middle Ages. In three chapters he discusses the borough as a creator of the gilds, as a controller of their membership, and as a regulator of their activities. Further sections will be published in later numbers in the *Studies*. These first chapters give promise of a notable work.

The Cambridge University Press announces *Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls, 1365-1381*, edited by H. H. Thomas from the archives of the Corporation of the City of London at the Guild Hall.

To the number of popular biographies of English sovereigns has been added Francis Hackett's *Henry VIII*. (New York, Liveright).

The fourth volume of the series *Life and Work of the People of England*, by Dorothy Hartley and Margaret M. Elliot, is on the seventeenth century. Like the preceding volumes on the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, it is "a pictorial record from contemporary sources". There are 166 illustrations, accompanied by interesting explanatory text. The pictures represent many phases of the life: agriculture, building, travel, warfare, amusements, medicine, etc. (Putnam, 1929).

An article, "The Fame of Sir Edward Stafford", by J. E. Neale, in the *English Historical Review* for April is mainly an attempt to refute the charge of treachery brought against Stafford by Dr. Conyers Read in an article with the same title in this *Review*, XX. 292 ff. Professor Neale makes use of information drawn from the *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series*, of the reign of Elizabeth, June 1586 to June 1588, published two years ago. Those interested in the controversy should also consult Professor Pollard's paper in the *English Historical Review*, XVI. 572 ff., and Read's *Mr. Secretary Walsingham and the Policy of Queen Elizabeth* (1925).

Select Documents for Queen Anne's Reign down to the Union with Scotland, 1702-1707, selected and edited by G. M. Trevelyan, is a very useful book. As the editor says, "nearly all the contemporary authorities which it would be necessary for students to have in their hands, were either out of print, or were on the point of going out of print. Moreover they were widely scattered in a number of different books. . . . A few transcripts, hitherto unpublished, from the British Museum MSS. have been added". Pertinent documents are grouped under six sections: Foreign Treaties of Alliance; Home Politics; Gibraltar; Blenheim and Ramillies; Marlborough Papers; Scotland and the Union. There is an excellent preface, an introduction to each of the sections, lists of the principal ministers and of the Parliaments of Anne's reign,

and sketch-maps of Gibraltar, Blenheim, and Ramillies (Cambridge University Press, 1929, pp. xiii, 251).

A Hundred Years of Catholic Emancipation, by D. R. Gwynn, is a history of the Catholic Church in England since the emancipation act in 1829. Special emphasis is given to the work of Wiseman and of Manning (New York, Longmans).

Peel and the Conservative Party: a Study in Party Politics, 1832-1841, by George Kitson Clarke (London, Bell, 1929), is described as a "brilliant book" and a careful study from unpublished material, "in which every page is fresh and vigorous".

Monypenny and Buckle's *Life of Disraeli* is to be published in a revised edition in two volumes (21 s.) in September, by Murray (London).

R. B. Mowat has written a *Life of Lord Pauncefote* which is published by Constable (London).

Three reprints of articles on Medieval London by Martin Weinbaum are at hand: that entitled "Stalhof und Deutsche Gildhalle zu London" appeared in the *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, 1928, XXXIII. 45-65; the article dealing with "Die Londoner Gerichtshofbeschreibungen des Mittelalters, eine Textkritische Studie" was published in the *Vierteljahrsschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, XXI. 1 and 2, while that on "Londons Aldermänner und Warde im 12.-14. Jahrhundert" was contributed to the *Gedächtnisschrift für Georg von Below*, noticed elsewhere in this issue.

In the *Proceedings* of the Royal Irish Academy, vol. XXXVIII., section C, no. 6, H. D. Richardson and G. O. Sayles discuss the Irish Parliaments of Edward I., "in order to cast light upon the mother institution in England". Their valuable paper may be obtained from Williams and Norgate (London) for a sixpence.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Edmond Faral, *L'Abbaye de Glastonbury et la Légende du Roi Arthur* (*Revue Historique*, January); James Tait, *The Origin of Town-Councils in England* (*English Historical Review*, April); F. W. Brooks, *The King's Ships and Galleys, mainly under John and Henry III.* (*Mariner's Mirror*, January); F. W. Brooks, *The Cinque Ports* (*ibid.*, April); William T. Morgan, *The Origins of the South Sea Company* (*Political Science Quarterly*, March); W. T. Morgan, *English Fear of "Encirclement" in the Seventeenth Century* (*Canadian Historical Review*, March); W. C. Abbott, *Macaulay and the New History* (*Yale Review*, spring); T. W. Riker, *A Survey of British Policy in the Fashoda Crisis* (*Political Science Quarterly*, March); Hugh Graham, *Education in Medieval Scotland* (*Catholic Educational Review*, May).

FRANCE

General review: H. E. Bourne, *A Decade of Studies in the French Revolution* (Journal of Modern History, June).

Three volumes of source-material and studies in local French history during the Middle Ages are *Le Laonnois Féodal*, vol. III., *Châtellenies de la Duché-Pairie de Laon*, by the Comte de Sars (Paris, Champion, 1929, pp. 773); *Les Grandes Compagnies en Velay, 1358-1392* (*ibid.*, 1929, pp. 285), by Jacques Monicat, and *Chartes et Documents de l'Abbaye Cistercienne de Preuilly*, edited by Albert Catel and Maurice Lecomte (*ibid.*, 1929, pp. 422).

Histoire Diplomatique by René Pinon, professor at the École des Sciences Politiques, constitutes vol. IX. of Gabriel Hanotaux's *Histoire de la Nation Française* (Paris, Plon, 1929, pp. 648).

There is a promise of fascinating reading in the new book by Henri d'Alméras, *À Pied, à Cheval, en Carrosse; Voyages et Moyens de Transport du Bon Vieux Temps*; there are chapters on the pilgrims, troubadours, and jongleurs, on Dante as a student in Paris, on journeys of Froissart, Molière, La Fontaine, and Mme. de Sévigné, on old inns, and means of transport (Paris, Michel, 1929, pp. 320).

A scholarly work has been written by Yvonne Bezard on *La Vie Rurale dans le Sud de la Région Parisienne de 1450 à 1560* (Paris, Firmin, 1929, pp. 382).

A translation of Henri Lavedan's *Monsieur Vincent, Aumônier des Galères* (Paris, Plon), made by Helen Y. Chase, is published by Longmans (New York).

Based partly on unpublished correspondence is the discussion of the struggle for Provence, 1593-1596, by L. V. Simpson, in the University of California *Publications in History*, vol. XVII., no. 1.

Certain movements in the French Church of the eighteenth century receive treatment at the hands of E. Preclin in two books bearing the respective titles, *Les Jansénistes du XVIIIe Siècle et la Constitution Civile du Clergé* (Paris, Gamber, 1929, pp. 616) and *L'Union des Églises Gallicane et Anglicane; une Tentative au Temps de Louis XV.* (*ibid.*, 1929, pp. 210).

Lafayette and Three Revolutions, by J. S. Penman, is the story of Lafayette's political life and the part he played in the American Revolution and in the French revolutions of 1789 and 1830 (Boston, Stratford).

The Cambridge University Press announces a new edition of Arthur Young's *Travels in France, 1787-1789*, which will also contain a selection from his *General Observations upon French conditions*. The editor is Miss Constantia Maxwell, who, four years ago, edited his *Tour in Ireland*.

The *Tableaux des Personnages Célèbres de la Révolution Française, du Consulat et de l'Empire*, by Jean Lhomer and Pierre Cornuau, contains more than 900 names and should be a useful reference-book for workers in these fields (Paris, Cornuau, 1929).

An interesting new volume in the "Recits d'Autrefois", published by Hachette, is *L'Affaire Pierre Bonaparte: le Meurtre de Victor Noir*, by M. Alexandre Zévaès.

Secrets of the Second Empire consists of letters, selected from the papers of H. R. C. Wellesley, first Earl Cowley, British ambassador at Paris, 1852-1867, and edited by his son, Hon. F. A. Wellesley (New York, Harper).

The *Correspondance Intime de l'Amiral de la Roncière Le Noury avec sa Femme et sa Fille, 1855-1871*, is published by the Société de l'Histoire de France, under the editorship of Joseph L'Hôpital and Louis de Saint-Blancan. The letters have value for the history of the Second Empire. Vol. I. covers the period from Apr. 2, 1855, to Jan. 25, 1861 (Paris, Champion, 1929, pp. 280).

In his *Histoire de la Commune de 1871, d'après des Documents et des Souvenirs Inédits; la Justice*, Georges Laronze, a magistrate, has gone beyond his immediate subject and furnished a considerable mass of new information on various aspects of the Commune, based on exhaustive research (Paris, Payot, 1928, pp. xvi, 696).

From *Die Grosse Politik* Max J. Kohler of New York has extracted Some New Light on the Dreyfus Case, which he used, with other material, for an article in the *Freidus Memorial Volume*. This is now reprinted separately (Vienna, 26 pp.).

Dr. Eleanor Lansing Dulles has presented the various crises in the finances of France from 1914 to 1928 in *The French Franc* (Macmillan, pp. xxxvi, 570). This represents the result of four years of research in ascertaining and interpreting the facts. The late Professor Allyn A. Young in the introduction says: "Miss Dulles's book has a twofold significance. In the first place it is a history. It gives an account of an important episode—or series of episodes—in the recent history of France. In the second place, it is an essay in monetary theory." In both respects it will prove valuable.

A valuable source of information for the political, economic, and social history of the region in question is the *Encyclopédie Départementale des Bouches-du-Rhône*. It is not a popular reference-book, but the fruit of original research. Vol. VIII., dealing with *Le Mouvement Économique: l'Agriculture*, is by Paul Masson and Ét. Estrangin (Paris, Champion, 1928, pp. xv, 908).

The publication at Dijon of the two fascicles of *Annales de Bourgogne*, an historical quarterly, is announced for June 30, with a note-

worthy list of contributors. The price in the United States is 60 francs a year.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Léon Vignols, *La Destruction d'Archives Coloniales* (Revue de l'Histoire des Colonies Françaises, January); C. Fabre, *Lettres d'Amortissement Accordées au Chapitre de Saugues par Béraud II., Dauphin d'Auvergne, en 1396* (Moyen Age, September–December); Gabriel Hanotaux, *Pour le Cinquième Centenaire; la Mission de Jeanne d'Arc, I., concl.* (Revue des Deux Mondes, February 15, March 1); Bertrand de Chanterac, *Odet de Foix, Vicomte de Lautrec* (Revue des Questions Historiques, April); Général Weygand, *La Conversion de Turenne* (Revue des Deux Mondes, February 15); J. J. Jusserand, *Louis XIV. et ses Ambassadeurs à Londres* (*ibid.*, April 15); Comte de Saint-Priest, *Portrait de la Reine Marie-Antoinette* (Revue de Paris, February 1); Robert A. Moore, M.D., *Gabriel Honoré de Riquette, Count of Mirabeau: a Medico-Historical Study* (Annals of Medical History, March); Duc de Broglie, *Mémoires, I.–IV.* (Revue des Deux Mondes, January 15, February 1, March 1, 15); Comte de Saint-Priest, *Souvenirs d'Émigration* (Revue de Paris, February 15); Crane Brinton, *Les Origines Sociales des Terroristes* (Annales Historiques de la Révolution Française, November); Albert Mathiez, *Portraits Révolutionnaires; Robespierre et Vergniaud, I.* (*ibid.*, March); Simon Askenazy, *Napoléon Inédit* (Revue des Deux Mondes, April 15); Édouard Driault, *Napoléon, Chef de Guerre* (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, March); Albert Mathiez, *Saint-Simon, Lauraguais, Barras, Benjamin Constant, etc., et la Réforme de la Constitution de l'An III. après le Coup d'État du 18 Fructidor An V.* (Annales Historiques de la Révolution Française, January); P. L. Roederer, *Lettres à Élisa Bonaparte; Publiées par Paul Marmottan* (Nouvelle Revue, Jan. 1–Feb. 1); Maurice Reclus, *La Jeunesse d'Adolphe Thiers* (Revue de Paris, March 1); Paul Marmottan, *Joseph Bonaparte à Mortefontaine, 1800–1803; Lettres et Documents Inédits, I.—concl.* (Nouvelle Revue, March 1–April 15); L. de Contenson, *Lettres du Comte Louis de Périgord, 1806–1807* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XLIII. 2); Georges Lefranc, *Die Begründung des Französischen Eisenbahnnetzes; eine Studie über das Gesetz vom 11. Juni 1842* (Zeitschrift für die Gesamte Staatswissenschaft, LXXXVI. 2); Sébastien Charléty, *Ernest Lavisse, 1842–1922* (Revue de Paris, February 1); Ch. L. d'Espinay de Briort, *Une Correspondance Inédite; le Prince Impérial et Ernest Lavisse, 1871–1879* (Revue des Deux Mondes, April 1); H. Prentout, *Le Rôle de la Normandie dans l'Histoire* (Revue Historique, January).

ITALY, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL

The Hispanic Society of America has published in its Notes and Monographs an illustrated account of *Early Engraved Ivories* in its collection (55 in number) from the excavations of George E. Bonsor near

the Guadalquivir River. These ivories Bonsor dates about 700 B.C., and assigns to a Liby-Phoenician origin.

A fresh consideration of the rôle of Guicciardini, based on the family archives and accompanied by the publication of important new documents, has been made by the Rumanian scholar, André Otetea, in his *François Guichardin; sa Vie Publique et sa Pensée Politique* (Paris, Picard, 1929, pp. 396).

The Oxford University Press announces *A History of Italy, 1870-1915*, by Benedetto Croce.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Lieut.-Comdr. Louis H. Roddis, U. S. N., *Garcia de Orta: the First European Writer on Tropical Medicine and a Pioneer in Pharmacognosy* (Annals of Medical History, March); Earl J. Hamilton, *Imports of American Gold and Silver into Spain, 1503-1660* (Quarterly Journal of Economics, May); Louis Bertrand, *Philippe II. à l'Escorial*, III., concl. (Revue des Deux Mondes, January 1, 15); C. Scaccia Scarafoni, *L'Antico Statuto dei "Magistri Stratarum" e Altri Documenti Relativa a Quella Magistratura* (Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria, L. 3-4); Piero Barocelli, *La Figura di Roma in Uno Storico Celtista* (Nuova Antologia, March 16); G. Falco, *Costituzioni Preegidiane per la Tuscia e per la Campagna e Marittima* (Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria, L. 3-4); Albert Pingaud, *Le Premier Royaume d'Italie; l'Oeuvre Militaire*, concl. (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XLIII. 2); Tommaso Tittoni, *Ricordi Personali di Politica Interna*, I., II (Nuova Antologia, April 1, 16); Carlo Pagani, *Dopo Custoza e Volta nel 1848* (*ibid.*, March 1); Luigi Salvatorelli, *Giovanni Giolitti und seine Auswärtige Politik* (Europäische Gespräche, March).

GERMANY, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

The Oxford University Press has published the *Diary of Jörg von Ehingen*, translated and edited by Malcolm Letts, from the manuscript in the Landesbibliothek at Stuttgart. Jörg was born in 1428, and his diary "reads like a chapter out of Froissart".

The Wurtemberg "Landesamt für Denkmalpflege" plans a three-volume history of *Die Römer in Württemberg*. Vol. I., by Friedrich Hertlein, covers *Die Geschichte der Besetzung des Römischen Württemberg* (Stuttgart, Kohlhammer, 1928, pp. xvi, 200). The remaining volumes are entrusted to Fr. Hertlein, P. Gössler, and O. Paret.

New source-material for Prussian history is available in *Acta Brandenburgica; Brandenburgische Regierungsakten seit der Begründung des Geheimen Rates*, vol. II., 1606-1607 März, edited by M. Klinkenborg (Berlin, Gsellius, 1928, pp. v, 647).

Gertrude Aretz's biography of Queen Louise of Prussia has been translated into English by Ruth Putnam and published by Putnam (New York).

The Cruise of the Kronprinz Wilhelm, by Alfred, count von Niezychowski (New York, Doubleday, Doran), is described as the story of the warfare against shipping on the Atlantic conducted by the German mystery ship during the first year of the war.

La Révolution Allemande de 1918, by Eduardo Labougle, is published by the Presses Universitaires (Paris). This is a translation of the well-known Spanish volume of which the first edition was published eight years ago and received with so great praise. The author was secretary of the Argentine legation at Berlin from 1914 to 1919, and this book shows what excellent use he made of his opportunities.

J. Borovicka, in *Ten Years of Czechoslovak Politics* (Prague, Orbis, 1929), writing from the Czech standpoint, gives valuable information concerning the development of parties, party leaders, and party changes since the foundation of the Czechoslovak Republic. This information supplements such works as that of Graham (*New Governments in Central Europe*) on the one hand, and those of Papoušek, Beneš, Masaryk, on the other.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Karl Lampe, *Ein Altmärkisches Bauernarchiv* (Thüringisch-Sächsische Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst, XVII. 2); Kurt v. Raumer, *Die Pfalzzerstörung von 1689; Quellenproblem und Forschungsaufgabe mit Besonderem Blick auf die Zerstörung von Speyer* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXXIX. 3); Arnold Berney, *Reichstradition und Nationalstaatsgedanke, 1789-1815* (*ibid.*, CXL. 1); Heinrich Otto Meisner, *Kaiserin Friedrich* (Preussische Jahrbücher, March); Gaetano Vitali, *Guglielmo II. e Bismarck*, concl. (Nuova Antologia, February 1); Burkhard Seuffert, *Ueber die Veröffentlichung von Landtagsakten* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, XXIV. 4); *Die Unterredungen P. A. Schuwalows mit Fürst Bismarck im April-Mai 1887* (Kriegsschuldfrage, March); *Der Inhalt der Deutsch-Oesterreichischen Militärkonvention* (Der Krieg, May); Baron Beyens, *Deux Années à Berlin, 1912-1914*, V. (Revue des Deux Mondes, April 1).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

No. 52 of the *Werken* of the Historische Genootschap (Utrecht, Kemink, pp. 212) is a volume on the history of the Clares and Tertiaries in the Netherlands, *Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Klarissen*, etc., statutes and votes of chapters and similar documents, with introductions by David de Kok. Vol. XLIX. of the *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen*, besides various accounts and inventories useful to students of economic history, contains a series of interesting letters of 1665 and 1666 found in the Vatican archives, written for the information of the papal nuncio in Brussels by an anonymous correspondent in Holland, who is here proved to have been Leeuw van Aitzema; also, of interest to students of Guiana history, the journal of a young Dutch lady who in 1677 accompanied her father to the new settlement on the Oyapock.

Belgian Problems Since the War, by Louis Pierard, is based upon six lectures given at Williamstown last summer. The first lecture deals with the problem of the two groups, Walloons and Flemings; the second with the use made by workers of leisure, and the last four with labor and socialism. The volume shows keen insight and a broad knowledge of conditions elsewhere as well as in Belgium. It is both interesting and important (Yale University Press, 1929, pp. xi, 106).

Noteworthy article in periodical: Michel Huisman, *Le Problème de la Sécurité de la Belgique et des Pays-Bas à l'Avènement du Second Empire* (Revue de l'Université de Bruxelles, Feb.-Apr. 1928).

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

General review: N. Brian-Chaninov, *Courrier Russe* (Revue des Questions Historiques, April).

The first of four volumes of *Selections from Lenin* is *The Fight for the Programme, Party Organization, and Tactics, 1893-1904*, compiled by Pierre Pascal and translated by J. Fineberg (New York, International Publishers).

The Revolution of 1917, from the March revolution to the July days, by Nikolai Lenin, a series of articles and addresses declaring the policies and tactics of the Revolutionists, has been published in two volumes by the International Publishers (New York).

The Vanguard Press (New York) has published a study of *The Jews and Other Minor Nationalities under the Soviets*, by Avrahm Yarmolinsky.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Otto Rydbeck, *Medeltida Kontrollmärken av Bly* (Fornvännen, 1928, 3); Elias Hurwicz, *Aus dem Archiv Pobedonoszews* (Preussische Jahrbücher, February); Axel Schmidt, *W. Kliutschewskij* (*ibid.*, March); Pierre Rain, *Nicolas II. et sa Diplomatie pendant la Guerre* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, January-March); Général Goury Danilow, *L'Abdication du Tsar; Récit d'un Témoin* (Revue des Deux Mondes, January 1); C. Diamandy, *Ma Mission en Russie, 1914-1918, I.* (*ibid.*, February 15); Inna Lubimenko, *Des Archives de l'Oukraïne Soviétique* (Nederlandsch Archievenblad, XXXVI. 2).

SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE

The *Slavonic Review* contains several general articles that concern all or nearly all Eastern and Central Europe: Russia, Poland, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary. Russia and Poland fill the *chronicle* and Yugoslavia monopolizes the two important collections of documents. Slavonic Studies in France are reviewed by Boris Unbegaun. Russia clearly dominates, however. There are articles by Sir Alfred Knox on the Grand Duke Nicholas, by Prince A. Lobanov-Rostovsky on

Psychological Undercurrents of the Russian Revolution, by R. R. Kachorovsky on the Russian Land Commune. This number continues the study of Poland and the Slavophil Idea, by W. Lednicki, and begins Bulgaria under the Tsar Simeon, by Stephen S. Bobčev. Both of these will appeal strongly to the real "Slavophil"; the student of Eastern European origins can not safely overlook them. The beginning of a series of articles by Ifor L. Evans on Agrarian Reform in the Danubian Countries is a source of deep satisfaction. This subject is one of keen interest to all, indirectly affecting West as well as East. Lord Onslow gives Arthur Nicolson, Lord Carnock, full justice and much appreciation. C. A. Macartney does for Hungary what he did so successfully for Austria in the last issue; he makes us see by the use of language not at all technical the development of Hungary since the World War and the real truth about its "partition". Many will welcome Wycliffe's Influence upon Central and Eastern Europe (by Otakar Odloželík), a scholarly piece of work of a most interesting nature. Czechoslovakia should feel grateful for the tribute paid by Niloš Weingart in the Centenary of Joseph Dobrovsky. Last but by no means least, the revelation of what the Central Powers had in store for Serbia, fully revealed in the "Unprinted Documents" section, is convincing evidence of what would have happened to the Slavs in case the World War had ended differently. The reviews are of an especially high order. (A. I. A.)

Roumania for January (vol. V., no. 1, published by the Society of Friends of Roumania) contains two articles on the Optants' Dispute, by David Mitrany and N. Henry Josephs, as well as a bibliography of books and articles recently published on this subject. Among the other contents may be noted a Roumanian Civil War Hero, by A. Popovici, an account of George Pomutz, who served in the United States army with distinction, and was afterwards consul at St. Petersburg and Kronstadt; the Minorities of Roumania, by Walter Littlefield; and Bessarabia Today, by George Boncescu. There is also a valuable summary (44 pages) of current events and statistics.

The Union of Moldavia and Wallachia, an Episode in Diplomatic History, by W. G. East, is published by the Cambridge University Press.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Hélène Vacaresco, *La Mystique Nationale Roumaine aux Environs de 1848* (*Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique*, XLIII. 1); Josef Brauner, *Bosnien und Herzegowina; Politik, Verwaltung, und Leitende Personen vor Kriegsausbruch* (*Kriegsschuldfrage*, April).

ASIA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

Kévork Aslan's *Études Historiques sur le Peuple Arménien*, which covers the history down to 1050 A.D., was first published twenty years ago. The new edition contains about 20 excellent illustrations, but otherwise seems little changed (Paris, Geuthner, 1928, pp. 339).

Reuben Levy, lecturer in Persian at the University of Cambridge, has attempted in *A Baghdad Chronicle* to gather all the material for the social history of the "City of Peace" from the date of its foundation until its capture five centuries later, by Húlágú, the Mongol. His notes and bibliographical list of authorities (not complete) show the thoroughness of his research. The Chronicle will correct many unfounded statements in the current accounts of the city (Cambridge University Press, 1929).

Methuen (London) has published an English translation of Henri Lammens's very learned work, *Islam: Beliefs and Institutions*, of which the French original was published three years ago.

Fr. Charles-Roux treats in *Les Échelles de Syrie et de Palestine au XVIIIe Siècle* the period during which the French merchants established in the Levant ceased to depend on the Marseilles Chamber of Commerce and came under the jurisdiction of the central government (Paris, Geuthner, 1928, pp. 224; Haut-commissariat de la République Française en Syrie et au Liban).

To the *Revue des Études Islamiques* for 1927 M. Jean Deny contributed the *Souvenirs du Gâzi Moustafa Kemâl Pacha*, translated from the original publication in the Turkish papers. The first parts dealt with the Great War and have been reprinted separately by Geuthner (Paris).

The grave difficulties of the problem which confronts Great Britain in India are brought out in *India on Trial*, a study of present conditions, by J. E. Woolacott (London, Macmillan, 1929, pp. xv, 257). The author is not unbiassed; he dwells upon the advantages which British rule has conferred upon India and upon India's incapacity for self-government, both of which are apparent. His conclusion is that "the British connection has proved of inestimable value. . . . Upon the maintenance of that association unimpaired the political progress and economic prosperity of India unquestionably depend".

The volume on *La Civilisation Chinoise* in Henri Berr's series, "L'Évolution de l'Humanité", has been written by Marcel Granet (Paris, Renaissance du Livre, 1929, pp. xxii, 524).

K. S. Latourette's *Development of China*, of which the first edition was published in 1917 (see XXII. 857), was revised for the third edition in 1924. Now because of the developments in the last four years it has again been revised, the last two chapters have been re-written, and the bibliography brought up to date (Boston, Houghton, Mifflin, 1929, xiv, 323).

Professor Asakawa, whose long-delayed volume on Japanese documents has recently been published by the Yale University Press, is the author of two important articles, Agriculture in Japanese History: a General Survey, published in the *Economic History Review*, vol. II., no. 1 (January); and the Early *Sho* and the Early Manor: a Compara-

tive Study, published in the *Journal of Economic and Business History*, vol. I., no. 2 (February).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. L. Sukenik, *Historical Topography of Ancient and Mediaeval Syria* (Jewish Quarterly Review, April); Marguerite Verdat, *Dupleix et l'Inde Française* (Revue de l'Histoire des Colonies Françaises, January); William McDougall, *The British in the East* (South Atlantic Quarterly, April); E. M. Earle, *American Missions in the Near East* (Foreign Affairs, April); Georg Cleinow, *Russland in Zentral-Asien* (Europäische Gespräche, February); P. Pelliot, *L'Origine des Relations de la France avec la Chine; le Premier Voyage de "l'Amphitrite" en Chine*, I., II. (Journal des Savants, December, March).

AFRICA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

H. A. R. Gibb has selected and translated a portion of Ibn Battuta's *Travels in Asia and Africa*, and has supplied an introduction and notes (London, Routledge). He is preparing a complete version for later publication.

Bantu, Boer, and Briton: the Making of the South African Native Problem, by W. M. Macmillan, should be read in connection with his *Cape Colour Question*. Both books "evolved from the study of the private papers of Dr. John Philip". Professor Macmillan, with great knowledge of his subject, writes as an advocate of the necessity for preserving to the natives enough land so that they will not become a landless proletariat and of the necessity of giving full rights of citizenship to the "little group of progressive and dispossessed Bantu when and as they attain to civilization". Interesting is the similarity of some of the customs in South Africa to Anglo-Saxon customs, *e.g.*, the "spoor-law" (p. 55).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: François Charles-Roux, *Un Horloger Diplômé; Naudi et le Rétablissement des Relations entre la France et Tripoli en 1802* (Revue de l'Histoire des Colonies Françaises, January); Col. Emilio Bellavita, *La Battaglia di Adua, Leggenda e Realtà* (Nuova Rivista Storica, January).

AMERICA

GENERAL

An act of Congress, approved February 28, 1929, amends the act of March 3, 1925, respecting the papers of the Territories, providing for the editing and publishing of those papers, and appropriates \$125,000 for that purpose.

The Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington announces for publication early in the summer two volumes: the second volume of *Judicial Cases concerning Slavery*, edited by Helen T. Catterall, which deals in 601 pages with material on North

Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee; and the fourth volume of the *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson*, edited by the late John Spencer Bassett, which deals in 508 pages with the years 1829-1832. The preface of the latter has been written by Dr. J. F. Jameson.

Among recent accessions to the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress are the following: photographs of early American letters and documents in the National Museum, Independence Hall, Philadelphia, dated 1652-1845; photostats of record-books of the vice-admiralty courts of New York and Philadelphia; 66 letters and business documents of Levinus Clarkson, 1772-1793; photostats of a letter from George Washington to Artemas Ward, Apr. 4, 1776, and of several hundred original letters of Washington preserved in other libraries; copies of the records of the Shakers of Pleasant Hill, Ky., 1806-1879; papers of William Clark, 1812-1846; 56 letters of James S. Pike to William P. Fessenden, 1849-1868; a letter-book of Thomas Ewing, 1856-1857; letter from W. H. Wallace to Abraham Lincoln, Apr. 12, 1865, with endorsement by Lincoln, Apr. 14; correspondence of William E. Chandler, 1865-1919, several thousand letters; drafts of reports made by Daniel E. Sickles, minister to Spain, 1869-1871, to the Secretary of State; papers of Eugene Gano Hay, 1874-1927; letters from Leonard Wood to Miss Jessie H. Haskell, 1877-1910; addresses of Grover Cleveland, 1889-1892; papers of Benjamin F. Tracy, Secretary of the Navy, 1889-1893; letters from Booker T. Washington to Miss Olivia E. Phelps Stokes, 1891-1893, and 173 other letters and documents of negro history including diaries, 1851, 1861, 1866, of Bishop B. T. Tanner, and journal, 1818-1883, of George Teamoh, fugitive slave and state senator, Va.; papers of William D. Bynum, 1894-1904, mainly relating to the National Committee of the *Sound Money Democracy*; letters from Benjamin Harrison to Severo Mallet-Prevost, 1898-1899; and, presented by the Duke of Marlborough, from the archives of Blenheim Palace, a letter of the first duke to his duchess, after Ramillies, 1706, a volume of illuminated addresses to the duchess, of 1880, commemorating her work for relief in time of Irish famine, and 124 specimen letters from celebrities, 1894-1918, to the present duke.

The Business Historical Society, Inc., with headquarters at the Baker Library, Soldiers Field, Boston, is searching for the contemporary records of early American business—ledgers, letters, articles of partnership, indentures, journals, and diaries of the men who laid the foundations of our present industrial system. It is urging the preservation of such historical data in local archives or, failing the necessary facilities for adequate housing and care, it offers the resources of the Baker Library, where the material will receive every attention and be made available for future study.

Among the collections already in the Baker Library may be mentioned a few of outstanding importance, which represent the sort of

material for which it is searching: the library on finance collected by the late Senator Nelson W. Aldrich of Rhode Island; an economic library collected by the late Professor James Mavor; the records of nine organizations connected with the cotton business covering a history of the industry from 1790 to the present day; records on the woollen industry, 1821-1852; original records of the meetings of directors and stockholders of several of the oldest banks in the country; early shipping records and correspondence of pioneers in the carrying trade such as Thomas Hancock, whom John Hancock succeeded, covering the latter half of the eighteenth century, Israel Thorndike of Beverly and Boston, during the period of the Revolutionary War and to the War of 1812, William Appleton and Company, succeeded by S. Hooper and Company, dealing with the "clipper-ship" trade of the days of the Mexican War, the Gold Rush, and the Civil War, Nathan Trotter and Son of Philadelphia, and others of equal note; original records of the first iron works in the American colonies, installed in 1640, containing agreements, inventories, depositions, and correspondence; papers of Jay Cooke relating to the development of the Northern Pacific Railroad; papers describing many of the activities of John Jacob Astor; a library collected by the late George C. Dempsey of Boston concerning the development of liquor manufacture and prohibition activities; the H. Gordon Selfridge Collection of Medici Manuscripts (see *A. H. R.*, XXXIII. 829).

The Pulitzer prize for the best book upon the history of the United States published in 1928 was awarded to Fred Albert Shannon for his *Organization and Administration of the Union Army*. The prize for the best American biography was awarded to Burton J. Hendrick for the *Training of an American: the Earlier Life and Letters of Walter H. Page*. This is the second time that Hendrick has won the award for biography.

The March number of the *Records* of the American Catholic Historical Society contains a paper by Rev. William J. P. Powers on the Beginnings of English Catholic Emigration to the New World (1578-1634); one concerning the Sisters of the Third Order of St. Francis, by a member of the sisterhood; and a descriptive account, by George Barton, of St. Joseph's-in-the-Hills, Malvern, Pa.

The April number of the *Bulletin* of the Business Historical Society, vol. III., no. 3, has interesting accounts of the Land Speculations of a Great Patriot (Robert Morris), and of the Story of Asphalt.

Professor R. W. Kelsey has begun a series of Handbooks of Citizenship. The subtitle is Topical Supplements to Textbooks of American History and Government. The first two numbers are Farm Relief and the Tariff. In each the historical background of the problem is presented and a bibliography furnished. The purpose is indicated by quotations from Frederic Harrison and James Harvey Robinson showing the folly of attempting a solution of such a problem without approaching

it historically (Pennsylvania History Press, Haverford, 1929, pp. 36, 38).

The *Forty-Second Annual Report* (pp. 900) of the Bureau of American Ethnology (for the years 1924-1925) contains, as is usual, an informing statement, constituting the report proper, by Dr. J. Walter Fewkes, chief of the bureau, concerning the progress of investigations conducted by the bureau and the publication of the results; but for the student of history the meat of these volumes is chiefly in the "Accompanying Papers". Four such papers make up the bulk of the present volume: Social Organization and Social Usages of the Indians of the Creek Confederacy (pp. 450), Religious Beliefs and Medical Practices of the Creek Indians (pp. 200), Aboriginal Culture of the Southeast (pp. 54), all three of them by Dr. J. R. Swanton, and Indian Trails of the Southeast (pp. 128), by the late W. E. Meyer. Together these papers constitute a valuable contribution to the aboriginal and early history of the Southeast. The Papers in the *Forty-Third Annual Report* (pp. 828) of the bureau have not the same unity, nor have they so wide a range of appeal to historical students. The first paper, by Francis La Flesche, recounts Two Versions of the Child-naming Rite among the Osage Indians; the second, which is by Professor F. G. Speck of the University of Pennsylvania, is a collection of Wawenock Myth Texts from Maine; the third, also by Professor Speck, is concerning the Native Tribes and Dialects of Connecticut, and includes a diary and some memoranda, in the Mohegan language, left by Fidelia A. H. Fielding (died 1908), the last Indian who retained the ability to speak the language; the fourth is a collection of Picuris Children's Stories, with Texts and Songs, by J. P. Harrington and Helen H. Roberts; the fifth paper is part two of J. N. B. Hewitt's Iroquoian Cosmology, of which the first part appeared in the *Twenty-First Annual Report* of the bureau.

Bulletin 84 of the Bureau of American Ethnology is a monograph on the *Vocabulary of the Kiowa Language*, by John P. Harrington. The author describes his paper as a "reconnaissance report" on the language of a small and distinct tribe whose original habitat was in western Montana (their present home is about Anadarko, Okla.). The author indicates that, while structural and lexical resemblances to Aztec are not numerous, yet some of these resemblances are sufficiently striking to suggest unity in the remote past.

The Government Printing Office has issued (1929) for the Library of Congress *Noteworthy Maps, No. 2*, containing the accessions for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1927, 155 items with annotations.

The Century Company has published a revised edition of *Our Republic*, by S. E. Forman (see XXVIII. 550). Two new chapters—the Coolidge Administration and Our Republic Today—have been added, and the last chapter of the first edition has been rewritten and expanded. But the revision has not corrected the errors in the preceding edition,

e.g., p. 399, Forman still dates Seward's "irrepressible conflict" speech two years too early (New York, pp. xvi, 925).

President Cyril Clemens of the Mark Twain Society (Mayfield, Calif.) is writing a life of Samuel L. Clemens. If any readers of the *American Historical Review* have letters or other information regarding Mark Twain they are asked to communicate with him.

ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

The National Society of Colonial Dames of America, Tennessee chapter in charge, announces the publication at an early date of an annotated reprint of Adair's *History of the American Indians*, the first reprint in English. Judge Samuel C. Williams, editor of the *Memoirs of Lt. Henry Timberlake* reprint, has been engaged to do the editorial work on the projected volume.

It is not often that European historical writers concern themselves with the internal development, intellectual or otherwise, of the United States. One welcomes, therefore, the treatise by Charles Mollon on *Les Collèges et les Progrès du Libéralisme en Nouvelle Angleterre; Période Coloniale* (Paris, Vrin, 1929, pp. 254), together with *The Conflict of Ideas in Colonial New England; being an Anthology illustrative of Orthodox Congregationalism and Liberal Tendencies from the First Settlement in the Massachusetts Bay Colony to the Close of the Colonial Period* (*ibid.*, 1929, pp. 72).

The Military Journal of George Ewing (1754-1824): a Soldier of Valley Forge, was last year privately printed by Thomas Ewing of Yonkers, N. Y. (see the *January Review*, p. 433). The journal has now been republished by Mr. Ewing, with the addition of letters and related materials and with the slightly altered title *George Ewing, Gentleman: a Soldier of Valley Forge* (pp. 182). The most important of the additions is a series of letters of George Ewing, beginning in 1815. Some maps accompany the journal and several portraits are interspersed among the other materials.

Perry Walton (88 Broad Street, Boston) has brought out *Paul Revere's Own Story*, embodying (in facsimile) Revere's letter to Dr. Jeremy Belknap relating the account of his ride on the night of Apr. 18, 1775, an account of the actions at Lexington and Concord, a biography of Revere, and two hitherto unpublished letters (to Joshua Humphreys, designer of the frigate *Constitution*) respecting methods of refining copper. The book is compiled by Harriet E. O'Brien.

Those interested in affairs of honor will enjoy Don C. Seitz's *Famous American Duels*, although sometimes the accounts are "rather heavily documented". There are introductory chapters on the Duello and the Code (one of the Codes was prepared by Governor Wilson of South Carolina). One English duel, Whately v. Temple, is included, because

of the part played in it by Benjamin Franklin. Then follow accounts of duels in which Aaron Burr, Andrew Jackson, Stephen Decatur, Henry Clay, and others participated (New York, Crowell, 1929, pp. xi, 345).

Professor Gilbert Chinard of the Johns Hopkins University continues his studies in the field of Franco-American contacts during the late eighteenth century with *Lettres Inédites de Beaumarchais, de Mme. de Beaumarchais et de leur Fille Eugénie, Publiées d'après les Originaux de la "Clements Library"* (Paris, Margraff, 1929, pp. 139) and *Lettres de Du Pont de Nemours Écrites de la Prison de la Force, 5 Thermidor-8 Fructidor An II.* (*ibid.*, 1929, pp. 102).

A very timely publication is cahier III. of the historical documents published by the Institut Français, *L'Enfant and Washington, 1791-1792* (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1929, pp. xi, 181). It contains about fifty published and unpublished documents now brought together for the first time and supplied with adequate comment by Elizabeth S. Kite. There are letters of L'Enfant, Washington, and Jefferson. Charles Moore furnishes a foreword. The introduction is a reprint of "Major L'Enfant and the Federal City" from J. J. Jusserand's *With Americans of Past and Present Days*.

The *Journal of Duncan M'Gillivray* is extremely interesting, especially because instead of recording minutiae he wrote general sketches of conditions and happenings at Fort George on the Saskatchewan, 1794-1795, which are illuminating. The supplementary matter is not as interesting. The Journal was at one time in the hands of John Henry (of the "Henry Letters"), and consequently in the preface the editor, Professor Arthur S. Morton, gives an outline of Henry's career. "The Introduction is intended to be a swift account of the course of the fur trade on the River Saskatchewan in the early days", but the adjective does not seem to have been well chosen. The appendix takes up "the Last of Fort George and Duncan M'Gillivray". The volume is published by Macmillan, at Toronto, in a handsome, limited edition.

A. D. H. Smith's *John Jacob Astor, Landlord of New York*, is a picture of 64 years of big business (Philadelphia, Lippincott).

Under the title *As God Made Them* Gamaliel Bradford has published sketches of Daniel Webster, Henry Clay, John C. Calhoun, Horace Greeley, Edwin Booth, Francis J. Child, and Asa Gray (Boston, Houghton Mifflin).

The Story of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, by Edward Hungerford, is a description of the organization, building, and development of the first American railroad, with a discussion of its effect on the social and economic life of the country through which it passed (New York, Putnam, 1928, two volumes).

Sister Mary Eulalia Herron has published, through Macmillan, *Sisters of Mercy in the United States, 1843-1928*.

The Government Printing Office has brought out *The Platforms of the Two Great Political Parties, 1856-1928*, compiled by G. D. Ellis.

Voyages to Hawaii before 1860: a Study based on Historical Narratives in the Library of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society (Honolulu, 1929, pp. 108) contains a chronological list of vessels, an index of vessels and persons, and a bibliography of 193 works.

Memoirs of the late Frank D. Baldwin, major-general in the United States army, who saw service in the Civil War and in various Indian campaigns, has been brought out by his wife through the Wetzel Publishing Company of Los Angeles.

Samuel Klaus in collaboration with Professor Underhill Moore and James N. Rosenberg has edited *The Milligan Case* (Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1929, pp. 476) as the first volume in *American Trials*. It is a convenient case book, including all the important records. There is an historical introduction by the editor (62 pp.) on military trials during the Civil War. No careful student should fail to read in connection with this version the clearer and more judicious treatment in James G. Randall's *Constitutional Problems under Lincoln*.

Volumes IX. and X. of the *American Secretaries of State* under the general editorship of Samuel Flagg Bemis have come from the press. They include sketches of the administrations of John Sherman, William R. Day, John Hay, Elihu Root, Robert Bacon, Philander C. Knox, William J. Bryan, Robert Lansing, Bainbridge Colby, and Charles E. Hughes.

The Carnegie Foundation for International Peace has issued in its series Social and Economic History of the World War *War History of American Railroads*, by W. D. Hines (New Haven, Yale University Press).

ITEMS ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

NEW ENGLAND

The April number of the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* contains Vital Records of Carmel, Me., communicated by Anna C. Kingsbury; Warnings-out in Chelmsford, Mass., 1790, 1794, communicated by Winifred L. Holman; a continuation of the Memoirs of Deceased Members of the Society, prepared by Rev. Arthur W. Ackerman and Harold C. Durwell; and other continuations.

The October-January serial of the *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society is marked by a brief paper by Professor Fuess on Lowell's political essays in the early *Atlantic* and a longer one by Colonel Banks, bitterly anti-Bradford in tone, on Governor Bradford's portrayal of Rev. John Lyford.

The April number of the *Essex Institute Historical Collections* contains, besides continuations hitherto mentioned, an article on Witchcraft, by Fred G. Robbins, M.D.

The *Story of Fay House* (Radcliffe College) will be of interest not only to Radcliffe students but to a wider circle, for Christina Hopkinson Baker has told interestingly of many famous people, including Edward Everett and Professor Sophocles, whose lives were associated with Fay House from 1807, when it was built, until 1885, when it was bought for the "Harvard Annex" (Cambridge, Harvard University Press).

The Worcester Historical Society *Publications*, new series, vol. I., no. 2 (April, 1929), has a paper by Zelotes W. Coombs, entitled General Henry Knox and the Ticonderoga Cannon, and one by U. Waldo Cutler, entitled Trail and Pike: a Study in Highway Development. Mr. Coombs's paper is an outcome of a resolution of the General Court of Massachusetts in 1925, creating a special commission to determine and mark the route pursued by General Knox in removing the cannon captured at Ticonderoga to Washington's camp at Cambridge, but includes a sketch of the early military career of General Knox.

The Connecticut State Library has completed the work of arranging and inventorying the records of the Litchfield probate district, deposited in the State library by the judge of the probate district in April, 1927. Of these records, consisting of nearly 35,000 documents relating to 6700 estates and covering the period from 1743 to 1924, an analytical and chronological digest has been prepared, aggregating 231 typewritten folio pages. Besides the town of Litchfield, which gives its name to the probate district, twelve other towns are covered in this digest, namely, Canaan, Cornwall, Goshen, Harwinton, Kent, Morris, Norfolk, Salisbury, Sharon, Torrington, Warren, and Washington. This is the sixty-eighth of the Connecticut probate districts to deposit its records in the State Library and to be inventoried in this admirable manner.

The Connecticut Historical Society has recently acquired by gift about 1500 letters and several packages of accounts relating to the Dodd family of Hartford. The majority are personal correspondence of the period 1787-1840, but there are invoices and accounts of ships in foreign trade (1805-1813), letters of the firm of Dodd and Ingersoll, merchants of Boston and Charleston (1812; 1816-1819), letters concerning the cotton trade, 1832-1833, and numerous private accounts.

The New London County Historical Society announces the completion of the *History of Griswold, Conn.*, by Daniel L. Phillips. The book contains 456 pages of text, 38 illustrations, and 7 maps, with an appendix of documents and an index of names and subjects (New London, the Society).

The Rhode Island Historical Society *Collections* has in the April issue an article on the Meaning of Indian Place Names, being a résumé of an interview with William B. Cabot of Boston; a note by Howard M. Chapin respecting Rhode Island's Place in the History of Naval

Signal Flags; and a part of the log of the sloop *Ranger* of Rhode Island, 1744.

As a companion volume to *The Letter Book of Peleg Sanford* (see page 203), the Rhode Island Historical Society has published *The Letter Book of James Browne of Providence, Merchant, 1735-1738*. Professor Krapp, of Columbia University, furnishes an introduction on early New England pronunciation, and John Carter Brown Woods, a biographical sketch of his ancestor. There are 139 letters which illustrate the methods and articles of trade and give information about prices, especially of rum. It might have been well to give explanations of some cryptic passages, *e.g.*, page 21, "it is ticklish times here my Neighbours threaten to inform against us, so I hope you will not be too bold when you come home".

MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

The April number of the New York Historical Society *Quarterly Bulletin* is chiefly occupied with an account, by John E. Stillwell, M.D., of Archibald Robertson, Miniaturist, 1765-1835, but contains also a continuation of the Revolutionary War Letters of Colonel William Douglas.

Among the contents of the *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library for April are a bibliography of the Hellman Collection of Irvingiana, the concluding instalment of the list of works on modern Egypt, and a note concerning the preface said to have been written by John Quincy Adams for a work of Dr. Joseph Seavy.

Among the articles in the April number of the *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* are: the Ancestry of William Rogers of Long Island, by L. E. deForest; the Emigrant Ancestor and Ancestress of Abraham Lincoln, by C. E. Banks; the Site of Anne Hutchinson's Massacre, by L. A. Welles; and a note, by Peter Nelson, assistant state historian, on a map of White Plains of 1797, hitherto supposed to have been of 1776. The Westchester County Miscellanea, contributed by Dr. Amos Canfield, the Federal Census of 1800, contributed by L. D. Scisco, the Schaghticoke Dutch Reformed Church Records, copied and annotated by the late W. B. Cook, jr., the Abstracts of Wills Recorded at White Plains, contributed by Theresa H. Bristol, the Abstracts of Sales by the Commissioners of Forfeitures in the Southern District of New York State, also contributed by Mrs. Bristol, the Records of the Reformed Dutch Church in the City of New York—Church Members' List, together with other series, are continued.

In the January number, page 437, attention was called to the article by A. J. Wall on Governor Horatio Seymour. Now the latter's niece, Mrs. Fairchild, has had the article, with additions, published in a limited edition under the title, *A Sketch of the Life of Horatio Seymour, 1810-1886*. The additions include a short account of his ancestry and early training, and a list of his addresses, speeches, and writings (New York, 1929, pp. 111).

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Cazenovia Past and Present: a Descriptive and Historical Record of the Village, by Christine O. Atwell (Cazenovia, New York, the author), contains a brief account of the founding and settlement of the village (the early town records, it is stated, have not been preserved), but is more particularly devoted to institutional history and description. There are chapters on the roadways, the waterways, the industries and institutions, religion, education, and culture. It is therefore in connection with developments in these several particulars that the history of the town is told. The author evidently regards Cazenovia as a charming village and has imparted her enthusiasm to the pages of her booklet.

Vol. III. (1704-1720) of *Oyster Bay Town Records* has come from the press, and it is announced that vol. IV. will be available in July (address: the Town Clerk, Oyster Bay, N. Y.).

Articles in the *Proceedings* of the New Jersey Historical Society, April issue, are: Foraging for Valley Forge in Salem and Gloucester Counties with Associate Happenings, by F. H. Stewart; Slavery in Colonial New Jersey and the Causes Operating against its Extension, by J. C. Connolly; the Nine Roads of New Brunswick, by William H. Benedict; a report in 1826 by Peter Fleming, an engineer, concerning a Proposed New Jersey Canal; a sketch, by G. W. Bartow, M.D., of Dr. George Andrew Viersellius, Early Hunterdon County Physician; and a Supplementary Genealogical Index to materials (printed and manuscript) in the society's library.

Mr. Lloyd W. Smith has established a fund for the "Princeton History of New Jersey", to be prepared under the direction of Professor T. J. Wertenbaker and to be published by the Princeton University Press. It is planned to furnish a series of monographs and later a general history of the state. Among the monographs already in preparation are "A Commercial History of New Jersey" by R. G. Albion, "The Founding of West Jersey" by J. E. Pomfret, "Education in New Jersey" by N. R. Burr, and "Transportation and Travel in New Jersey" by W. J. Lane.

The *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* has in the April issue the first instalment of a biography of Captain William Crispin (1627-1681/2), by M. Jackson Crispin. The author states that since the publication of the account of William Crispin by Oliver Hough, in 1898 (*Pennsylvania Magazine*, vol. XXII.), much new information has been gathered, calling for a new presentation. Mr. C. H. Smith contributes to this number of the *Magazine* a study of Pennsylvania colonial history, explaining Why Pennsylvania never became a Royal Province; Judge W. R. Riddell gives an account of Suggested Governmental Assistance to Farmers Two Centuries Ago, in Pennsylvania; and Dr. E. N. Vollandigham presents a biographical sketch of Lieutenant-Colonel George Vollandigham (1737 or 1738-1810).

In the April number of the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* Ellis Beals begins a life of Arthur St. Clair, Western Pennsylvania's Leading Citizen, 1734-1818; C. W. Dahlinger gives an account of the Pittsburgh Sanitary Fair (held in June, 1864); McClelland Leonard, under the title Laurel Hill, writes somewhat at large of the history and geography of the region about Pittsburgh; and J. P. Cowan gives a history of the Beginning of the Early Railroads in Pittsburgh.

SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

Dr. Henry J. Berkley contributes to the March number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* a list of the physicians and surgeons of the Revolutionary period, 1775-1783, in Maryland, and L. D. Scisco contributes a descriptive account of the Colonial Records of Prince George's County. The series of letters under the title an American Medical Student and his Friends (1784-1785) are continued, as are the extracts from the account and letter-books of Dr. Charles Carroll of Annapolis. The Maryland rent rolls in this issue are for South River Hundred.

The Postal Service of the Confederate States of America, by August Dietz, includes the laws governing the service and many illustrations of the stamps used (Richmond, Dietz Printing Company, pp. 438).

The Bibliography of Virginia history since 1865, which is being compiled by Dr. Lester J. Cappon, under the direction of Professor Dumas Malone, will appear within a few months. The compilation is being made under the auspices of the Institute of Research in the Social Sciences in the University of Virginia.

Since the last report, the photostat department of the Virginia State Library has been engaged in making prints of the older records of the counties of the state, one set of prints being turned over to the archives department of the library and another set sent to the county owning the originals. The American Antiquarian Society presented to the department on May 16 two Confederate items—a pay roll of a Virginia infantry company for May-June, 1862, and an application for a furlough made by a Confederate officer. These two items are especially acceptable since the department is engaged in the preparation of as complete a roster as possible of the Virginia troops in the Confederate service. It is hoped that other libraries throughout the country may send in similar material.

The *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* prints in the April issue, from a transcript in the London Public Record Office, the "Act [1723] for dissolving the Parish of Wilmington in the Counties of James City and Charles City and adding the same to other parishes", of which the title only is mentioned (under the date May, 1723) in Hening's *Statutes* (IV. 141). Besides numerous genealogical notes the other contents of this issue are for the most part continuations of documentary series hitherto mentioned.

G. H. Gaston, of Chicago Normal College, contributes to the April number of *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine* a paper on the Boundaries of Virginia, with maps; Dr. Philip Auchampaugh, some correspondence between Jeremiah S. Black and Edwin M. Stanton, in August and September, 1864, respecting negotiations with Jacob Thompson, Confederate Commissioner in Canada; and Capt. S. A. Ashe of Raleigh, a brief article on the Assassination of President Lincoln. This number of the *Quarterly* contains also an address by Dr. Lyon G. Tyler entitled General Lee's Birthday, and a list of Virginia Officers in 1776, contributed by J. Neilson Barry of Oregon.

The April number of the *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* contains the second instalment of Alfred Rive's Brief History of Regulation and Taxation of Tobacco in England; an autobiographical sketch of William Campbell (1837-1925), dated at Bowler's, Va., Apr. 9, 1925; a sketch, by Monroe Johnson, of James Monroe, Soldier; a group of letters (1856-1867) to Hugh Blair Grigsby; a letter from William Cabell to Col. James Higginbottam (written probably in 1788), in behalf of the election of James Monroe to Congress and of the proposed amendments to the Constitution; an index to Fluvanna County wills, 1777-1823, contributed by Mrs. H. E. Lipscomb; and the fourth instalment of marriage bonds of Norfolk County, contributed by Mrs. R. S. Barrett.

The North Carolina Historical Commission has acquired photostats of twenty maps from the William L. Clements Library, a manuscript history of the Scots in North Carolina, by A. W. McLean, a letter from George E. Badger to J. M. Carlisle (Nov. 9, 1858), four rare issues of Tarboro newspapers, and a rare pamphlet: *Dr. Jones' Speech on the Bill to Amend the Penal Laws*, delivered in the house of commons of North Carolina, Nov. 20, 1802. The commission continues its acquisition of transcripts of North Carolina materials from the British Public Record Office.

The *North Carolina Manual*, 1929, compiled and edited by A. R. Newsome, secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission, and published by the commission, is somewhat larger than that of 1927 (618 pages as against 560), including as it does some sections of new matter. Some abolitions, consolidations, and new creations have taken place among the state departments, boards, and commissions (to a denizen of the outer world they seem to be a numerous horde), and the chapters in the *Manual* have been revised accordingly. It is also observed that a number of institutions heretofore classified as educational have been transferred to the category of charitable and correctional. The national election of 1928 called, naturally, for considerable space, both for the several party platforms and for a tabulation of the election returns. Only a slight increase of space has been allotted to biographical sketches of officials.

In the April number of the *North Carolina Historical Review* Professor P. M. Hamer of the University of Tennessee gives an account of what has been done for the Preservation of Tennessee History, largely a story of sad neglect. An article by Dr. G. G. Johnson of the University of North Carolina on Social Characteristics of Ante-Bellum North Carolina is another of those interesting and valuable studies which he has been making of life in North Carolina before the Civil War. Professor C. K. Brown of Davidson College contributes an interesting bit of economic history, an account of the Southern Railway Security Company (1871-1918): an Early Instance of the Holding Company. Mr. A. R. Newsome presents the third instalment of sketches of Twelve North Carolina Counties in 1810-1811 (see the January *Review*, p. 439); the counties included in this instalment are Franklin, Greene, and Lenoir. In the section of Historical Notes, edited by D. L. Corbitt, are excerpts from eighteenth-century newspapers, among them a proclamation for a fast May 18, 1757 (issued by Governor Dobbs, April 14), an account of the celebration at Newbern of the Fourth of July, 1778, Governor Martin's proclamation for the celebration of the Fourth, 1783, the celebration at Halifax in 1796, a "Republican Prayer" (September, 1796), in which the Jay Treaty comes in for condemnation, and numerous other items.

The *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* reprints in the April number, from the *Scottish Historical Review* of January, 1928, the material respecting the arrival of the *Carolina Merchant* (1684), bearing the settlers for Stuart's Town, the settlement projected by Lord Cardross and William Dunlop, and prints an account of the Spanish Depredations in 1686 in which Stuart's Town was destroyed. The account, a representation to the Lords Proprietors in London, was contributed by J. G. Dunlop, with notes by Mabel L. Webber. The Marriage and Death Notices from the *Charleston Courier*, 1806, contributed by Elizabeth H. Jervey, are continued, as are the Laurens and the Garth correspondence.

The Florida Historical Society *Quarterly* is printing a series of Documents relating to El Destino and Chemronic Plantations, Middle Florida, 1828-1868, edited, with an historical introduction, by Professor Kathryn T. Abbey of the Florida State College for Women. These plantations were located a short distance from Tallahassee, the former being one of the well-known pioneer estates of the territory, the latter having been acquired by the owner of El Destino in 1839 or 1840. The documents, a minute and instructive record of the operation of these plantations, will be continued through several numbers of the *Quarterly*. The January number has an article by Abbot C. H. Mohr, O.S.B., on St. Francis Barracks, St. Augustine: the Franciscans in Florida, and part II. of Samuel Pasco's history of Jefferson County, Fla., 1827-1910. The April number contains, besides an instalment of the plantation

documents mentioned, an account, by T. F. Davis, of the Seminole Council, Oct. 23-25, 1834, and a letter from Col. James Gadsden, one of the American commissioners at the council, written to the St. Augustine *News*, July 3, 1839 (printed in the *News* of July 13), relative to those negotiations. The April number has also an account of the annual meeting of the society at St. Augustine, Feb. 8.

WESTERN STATES

Twenty years ago Professor Alvord proposed that the Mississippi Valley Historical Association should publish a series of documents for the history of the valley, and prepared material for a first volume. Now the association has decided to carry out his idea and asks subscriptions for a revolving fund to publish the "Clarence W. Alvord Fund Publications". The first will be the volume prepared by Alvord. Dr. S. J. Buck is chairman of the commission.

The Mississippi Valley Historical Association at its meeting in Vincennes created an historical manuscripts commission, along the lines of the Royal Manuscripts Commission, to compile and publish catalogues and inventories of manuscript material, non-archival, for the history of the Mississippi Valley. Dr. Herbert A. Kellar was made chairman.

The general assembly of Ohio at its recent session provided for the creation of an Ohio Revolutionary Memorial Commission of fifteen members, two of whom shall be the director and the secretary of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, the others to be appointed by the governor. The assembly made appropriations for several memorials, but failed to provide funds for Ohio's share in the National George Rogers Clark Memorial, which is to be erected on the site of old Fort Sackville at Vincennes.

The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society has removed its newspaper collections and a part of its library into the new wing of the museum and library building, which will be equipped with steel stacks, etc. Meanwhile several thousand manuscripts, record-books, reports, etc., have been transferred to the custody of the society from the offices of the governor and adjutant-general. Another important addition to the society's collections has been an extensive file of Greenville, O., newspapers, extending back into the 'sixties. At the annual meeting of the society, May 4, Dr. Beverly W. Bond gave an address on the Old Northwest to Eastern Eyes and Dr. Henry Roe Cloud, a full-blooded Indian, one respecting intimate phases of American Indian life. A facsimile of no. 1 of the *Centinel of the North-Western Territory* (Nov. 9, 1793) was presented to those in attendance.

The *Quarterly Bulletin* of the Historical Society of Northwestern Ohio presents in its second number (April), under the title General Wayne's Campaign of 1794 and the Battle of Fallen Timbers, Lieutenant

John Boyer's diary of the campaign, together with selections from General Wayne's orderly book.

The Detroit Biography in the May number of the Burton Historical Collection *Leaflet* is of James Henry (1771-1812), who came to Detroit in 1797 as agent for Colonel James O'Hara and afterward engaged in mercantile business independently. The sketch is by Louise Rau.

The March number of the *Indiana Magazine of History* has an article by Charles Roll on Indiana's Part in the Nomination of Abraham Lincoln for President in 1860, being largely an investigation of the ways and means by which the Indiana delegates to the convention were won over to the support of Lincoln. A contribution to Lincoln genealogy is made by Louis A. Warren in an article on Hananiah Lincoln in Revolutionary and Pioneer History. A study of quite a different sort is *Foreigners and their Influence on Indiana*, by Robert L. Lafollette, chiefly an examination into the elements of population that have come together in Indiana. The article entitled Recognition of George Rogers Clark, by Louise Phelps Kellogg, points out that, with a few exceptions, such as Jefferson, the significance of Clark's conquest was long inadequately recognized, not, in fact, until after Lossing had published his *Field Book of the Revolution*, and Lossing's recognition was the result of contact with Lyman C. Draper. Stanley Coulter contributes an Appreciation of the late Thomas F. Moran, and Harlow Lindley a document by Robert Dale Owen pertaining to Indiana's common school fund.

The Indiana Historical Society has brought out (*Publications*, vol. VIII., no. 8) *Indiana Coverlets and Coverlet Weavers*, by Kate Milner Rabb. Coverlet weaving, if not quite a lost art, is in a way of being forgotten, the remaining products of the art, often of beautiful design and skillful weaving, being largely relegated to uses unrelated to their purpose and remote from thoughts of art. It was probably not in Indiana that the art chiefly flourished, but the Indiana Historical Society has done well to rescue this scrap of pioneer civilization from perishing, bringing to light at the same time something of the careers of those professional weavers who wrought within the borders of the state.

The *Indiana History Bulletin* for March prints the section of the act of Congress of 1925 respecting the collection and editing of official papers of the territories, together with the amendment of 1929. The April number contains a brief article by Mr. R. C. Ballard Thruston on the Character and Achievements of George Rogers Clark (reprinted from the Louisville *Herald-Post*).

Professor G. D. Harmon of Lehigh University contributes to the January number of the *Journal* of the Illinois State Historical Society an extended study of Douglas and the Compromise of 1850, wherein he finds that Douglas was the author of four of the six compromise meas-

ures, which he put through one by one, then lent his moral support to the other two; that Clay was not the author of a single one of the measures, and that, having left his post after the wreck of his plan, not he but Douglas should be regarded as the author of the Compromise of 1850. In the same number of the *Journal* P. M. Angle discusses the "Peoria Truce" of Oct. 16, 1854, between Lincoln and Douglas and comes to the conclusion that "the story of the Peoria truce and Douglas' subsequent treachery should be relegated from its place as an established incident in the lives of these two men to the growing category of hoary tales which may be true—but probably aren't". Among the other contents of this issue are: Nauvoo, Ill., under Mormon and Icarian Occupation, by Thomas Reeves; an account of Rock Creek Cumberland Presbyterian Church, by Margaret K. Schnapp; an account of the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Presbyterian Church of Vandalia, Ill., by N. C. Gouchenour; and a sketch, by L. H. Pammel, of Benjamin D. Walsh (1808-1869), entomologist.

In the April number of the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review* A. T. Donohue tells the story of Financing a Catholic College [St. Mary's Mission] in Kansas in 1850, H. S. Spalding concludes his studies of Colonial Maryland, as does Rev. Marian Habig his account of the First American Foreign Missionaries, while Dr. J. J. Thompson continues his papers on Illinois: the Cradle of Christianity and Civilization in Mid-America.

The April number of the *History Quarterly of the Filson Club* is largely occupied by the second part of Minute Book A, Jefferson County, Ky., March, 1781-September, 1783, part I. of which was described in the April number of the *Review*. This number contains also an article by A. L. Prichard entitled the Beginning of Old Vienna, now Calhoun in McLean County, one by Isabel C. Courtenay concerning some descendants of Col. Richard Lee of Virginia, and one by T. S. Erwin on the Clay and Erwin Families.

The Critical Court Struggle in Kentucky, 1819-1829, by A. M. Stickles, is published in Bowling Green, Kentucky (College Heights Book-Store).

The contents of the *Michigan History Magazine*, spring number, include an article by H. A. Haigh on Old Days and Early Authors of Michigan State College; one by G. B. Catlin on Michigan's Early Military Roads; one by C. T. Hamilton on Western Michigan History: Colonial Period; one by Sue I. Silliman entitled "A Prince in Puddleford", being a sketch of Governor John S. Barry (1802-1870); one by Hon. W. R. Riddell entitled a Pretty Quarrel over Rum at Old Michillimackinac; the third instalment of William A. Spill's history of the University of Michigan: Beginnings; a group of Letters Relative to William A. Burt, 1851-1854; and the Seventeenth Annual Report of the Michigan Historical Commission, 1928.

The *Wisconsin Magazine of History* prints in the March number a translation, by Dr. Joseph Schafer, of Carl Schurz's account of the Surrender of Rastatt, the closing episode of the German Revolution of 1848-1849, together with an account of the discovery of the document, by Dr. Schafer. In this issue of the *Magazine* Mr. W. A. Titus adds to his occasional articles on Historic Spots in Wisconsin one on Hazel Green, the Last Resting Place of a Poet (James Gates Percival). The Pioneer and Political Reminiscences of Nils P. Haugen and the Journal of William Rudolph Smith are continued.

A dozen or more years ago W. W. Bartlett began to contribute historical material to the *Eau Claire Telegram*. Requests to put the material into more permanent form have led him to publish *History, Tradition, and Adventure in the Chippewa Valley* (Chippewa Falls, Wis., 1929, pp. 244). The longest article is on the Sioux-Chippewa Feud. There is also much of interest on historic personages and events.

The March number of *Minnesota History* contains an article by Herbert Heaton entitled Development of New Countries: Some Comparisons. The author is inclined to believe that a hundred years hence "the biggest European achievement" will be thought to have been "the settlement of large parts of America, Africa, Australasia, and perhaps Siberia, by the white-faced folk", and he compares these great movements of population in the nineteenth century, their characteristics and consequences, and he finds many points of similarity and likewise many differences. In this number Dr. S. J. Buck recounts what the Minnesota Historical Society has achieved in the past year (1928), and V. E. Chatelain gives an account of the 1929 annual meeting of the society. There are memorials of the late Herschel V. Jones and Gideon S. Ives, by E. C. Gale and Harold Harris, respectively.

The April number of the *Annals of Iowa* contains an account, by D. C. Mott, of the twenty-first session of the Pioneer Lawmakers' Association of Iowa, held in Des Moines Feb. 13-14; the addresses delivered are printed *in extenso*. An article of particular interest and value is a discussion by E. R. Harlan of the Ethics involved in the Handling of Personal Papers, the subject being treated primarily from the point of view of a custodian. Appended to the article is an alphabetical list of such papers in the historical, memorial, and art departments of Iowa.

In the April number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* Dorothy Schaffter brings to a conclusion her study of the Bicameral System in Practice; C. M. Meyers presents the results of his investigation of the Mexican Problem in Mason City; and H. C. Cook contributes a first instalment of a paper on the Administrative Functions of the Department of Public Instruction in Iowa, discussing the development of the department, its organization, the powers of the superintendent, etc.

In the March number of the *Palimpsest* Pauline Grahame discourses upon Some Songs of Long Ago. In the April number W. J. Petersen gives a biographical sketch of Capt. Joseph Throckmorton (1800-1872), noted among the pioneer river captains on the upper Mississippi.

The April number of the *Missouri Historical Review* contains an article on Palmyra and its Historical Environment, by F. H. Sosey; one on the Military Prisons of St. Louis, 1861-1865, by W. B. Hasseltine; the first chapters of a study, by Sceva B. Laughlin, of Missouri Politics during the Civil War; part II. of W. G. Bek's biography of George Engelmann, Man of Science; part II. of P. S. Rader's account of the Great Seal of the State of Missouri; and a biographical sketch, by H. D. Hooker, of George Husmann (1827-1902), viticulturist.

Among the recent acquisitions of the Missouri Historical Society are: the Caleb Green Collection (1849-1882), including the observations of Green, a convert to Mormonism, during a residence of five months in Utah and his return to England in disgust, also a diary of his return to St. Louis, written in 1857; the John O'Fallon Collection (1807-1878), relating to mercantile, military, and personal matters and including letters of William Clark, John C. Calhoun, Ninian Edwards, Henry Clay, and Thomas H. Benton; photostatic copies of nineteen autograph letters (1811-1816) of John Jacob Astor relating to the fur trade; some letters of Kate Field, journalist, lecturer, and actress; and a biographical sketch of Adelaide Neilson by N. M. Ludlow.

The April number of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* contains the Diary and Letters of William P. Rogers, 1846-1862, edited by Eleanor D. Pace. The diarist was a captain of volunteers in General Taylor's army in Mexico, and his diary covers the period of his service in that war. In the Civil War he was a colonel, and the letters here printed are all of the year 1862. The last letter in the series is from Dabney H. Maury to Mrs. Rogers announcing the death of her husband in battle October 3. Another diary in this issue is one kept by J. W. Benedict of a campaign against the Comanches in 1839. The other contents are continued documentary publications.

Frank H. Trego has brought out through the firm of Greenberg a small volume which he has entitled *Boulevarde Old Trails of the Great Southwest*.

Professor Eugene C. Barker has prepared for use in the schools *Readings in Texas History* (Dallas, Southwest Press, pp. viii, 653). The chapters cover the history from 1528. Most of the material is taken from the best available accounts, especially in the publications of the Texas State Historical Association, but when for a subject no satisfactory account was available Professor Barker himself has furnished an excellent brief narrative. He has drawn upon the writings of Austin and other contemporaries, has utilized the contributions of R. C.

Clark, C. W. Ramsdell, and other modern authorities. The book is excellent for its purpose.

Memories of Old Emigrant Days in Kansas, 1862-1865, by Mrs. Adela E. R. Orpen, which Blackwood brought out in London in 1926, has now been published in this country (New York, Harper).

The March number of the *Chronicles of Oklahoma* contains Captain Nathan Boone's journal of his expedition from Fort Gibson and return, May 14 to July 31, 1843, his report to Gen. Zachary Taylor, Aug. 14 following, and Taylor's letter of transmittal to the adjutant-general at Washington Aug. 23. The documents are accompanied by a map of the march, a portrait of Captain Boone, and an introduction by W. J. Fessler. Among the other contents of this issue are an account, by C. N. Gould, of the Dedication of the Monument on Black Mesa, near Kenton, marking "the high point of Oklahoma", with the several addresses; a paper on Alexander McGillivray, Emperor of the Creeks, by Carolyn T. Foreman; and a continuation of Grant Foreman's contribution, Early Post Offices of Oklahoma.

The May number of the *Colorado Magazine* contains an article by Professor A. B. Thomas of the University of Oklahoma on San Carlos: a Comanche Pueblo on the Arkansas River, 1787, characterized by the author as a study in Comanche history and Spanish Indian policy. In the same number Dr. J. F. Willard describes, principally by means of excerpts from newspapers, how the news of the early discoveries of gold in Colorado was spread.

Articles in the April number of the *New Mexico Historical Review* are: the Apaches, by J. P. Clum, largely a narrative of the author's experiences and his observations; the Exploitation of Treason, an aftermath of the Confederate invasion of New Mexico, by E. D. Tittmann; some Documents bearing upon the Northern Frontier of New Mexico, 1818-1819, edited by A. B. Thomas; an article by Mr. Thomas concerning Spanish Reaction to American Intrusion into Spanish Dominions in the same period; the Instructions to Peralta by the Vice-Roy, Mar. 30, 1609 (original, from the archives at Seville, transcribed by L. B. Bloom, translation by I. L. Chaves); a discussion by Mr. Bloom of the question When was Santa Fe Founded? and a continuation of the series of Documents for the History of the New Mexican Missions in the Seventeenth Century, contributed by France Sholes.

The *Washington Historical Quarterly*, continuing its series of articles on the history of science in the state of Washington, has in the April issue an article on bacteriology in the state, by Professor John Weinzirl, one on pharmacy, by Dean C. W. Johnson, and one on home economics, by Professor Effie I. Raitt. Mr. John F. Stevens, the engineer, relates briefly how he located the original line of the Great Northern Railway through the mountains in 1890-1891—a condensation of his address

delivered in connection with the celebration, in January last, of the opening of the Cascade tunnel; Judge F. W. Howay tells the story of the Ballad of the Bold Northwestman: an Incident in the Life of Captain John Kendrick (part of the same material was contributed to the *New England Quarterly* for January, 1928); the editor writes a sketch of Ezra Meeker, the Pioneer, with a list of his writings; L. A. McArthur contributes a brief article concerning Early Washington Post Offices; J. N. Barry gives some account of San Juan Island in the Civil War; and Professor E. S. Meany discusses the Congress-Captain Cook Falsehood. In the section of Documents is a statement concerning the manuscripts saved from fire in 1889 by Judge H. G. Struve, one of the manuscripts, instructions from Secretary Cass to Governor McMullin, July 29, 1857, being printed entire.

The first three items in the March number of the *Oregon Historical Quarterly* pertain to the late editor of the *Quarterly*, Dr. Frederic G. Young (1858-1929); Dr. Joseph Schafer writes a sketch of his career, Mr. E. H. McAlister an Appreciation, and the Oregon Historical Society offers a Tribute. Other contributions are: Some Early Maps and Myths, by C. H. Carey; the Oregon Coast as seen by Vancouver in 1792, by T. C. Elliott, with a reprint of Vancouver's narrative; the Use of Soil Products by Indians, by J. N. Barry; the fourth instalment of the Log of the *Lausanne*, by H. B. Brewer, with notes by John M. Canse; and some Reminiscences of John Y. Todd, a pioneer of 1852, by L. A. McArthur.

The University of California *Publications in Economics*, vol. VI., no. 1, is a monograph entitled *Mexican Labor in the United States Imperial Valley* (pp. 94), by Paul S. Taylor. This is essentially a study of present economic and social conditions in the Imperial Valley, where a unique situation exists, especially in "the conglomerate mixture of races at the basis of its socio-economic structure", with the background and history of labor in the valley briefly sketched. It is only within recent years that Mexicans have come to be the predominant labor element and a permanent part of the community. The author states that this is the first of a projected series of studies of Mexican labor in the United States.

In the *California History Nugget's* series *Pioneers of the North Pacific* the article in the November number is an account of the *Golden Hind*.

Milo M. Quaife has edited for the Lakeside Classics *Echoes of the Past about California* and *In Camp and Cabin*, by John Bidwell and John Steele (Chicago, Lakeside Press).

CANADA

The *Report of the Public Archives of Canada* for the year 1928 records large accessions both of original manuscripts and of transcripts

and photostats. It also contains a catalogue of the J. A. Roebuck Papers, translated extracts from the journal of Asseline de Ronual, 1662, perhaps the first tourist in Canada, and an account of the trade carried on by the North West Company, written by Duncan McGillivray (died 1808), and given by his brother to the John Henry who obtained unfortunate notoriety in 1812.

The *Canadian Historical Review*, volume IX., no. 4 (December, 1928) contains La Vérendrye: Commandant, Fur-trader, and Explorer, by A. S. Morton, laying stress on Vérendrye's interest in the fur trade rather than in exploration; Selkirk's Work in Canada: an Early Chapter, by Helen I. Cowan, adding somewhat to our knowledge of Selkirk; and an interesting account of Canadian Migration in the Forties, by Frances Morehouse.

To meet the need of a medium for studies on economic subjects of especial interest to Canada the librarian of the University of Toronto has published (1928) *Contributions to Canadian Economics*, vol. I. Of especial interest to students of history are the *Introduction to Canadian Economic History*, by the late James Mavor, part of an unfinished work, and the two bibliographies, first, of research work done at the university in the department of political science, and second, of important material on the *Economic History of Canada* published in 1927.

The Kelsey Papers, with an introduction by Arthur G. Doughty, Keeper of Public Records, and Chester Martin, Head of the Department of History, University of Manitoba, is published by the Public Archives of Canada and the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland (Ottawa, F. A. Acland, 1929, pp. lxxxiii, 128). When an attempt was made in 1749 to deprive the Hudson's Bay Company of its charter on the ground of "non-user" the company submitted journals of Henry Kelsey to prove that they had sent out expeditions into the interior. The genuineness of the journals was attacked and a Kelsey myth gradually grew up. Now the good faith of the company is vindicated by the publication of the journals and other papers which describe the adventures of Kelsey while in its service between 1683 and 1722. Of an especial interest are his observations on Indian beliefs and superstitions. The introduction is in both English and French. There is an index, but no table of contents.

Dollier de Casson's *History of Montreal, 1640-1672*, translated from the French by Ralph Flenley, with a life of the author, has been brought out in London and Toronto by Dent and in New York by Dutton.

AMERICA SOUTH OF THE UNITED STATES

The *Hispanic American Historical Review* has in the May number an article by Miss Mary W. Williams of Goucher College on Secessionist Diplomacy of Yucatan; one by V. A. Belaunde on Factors of the Colonial Period in South America working toward a New Régime; and one by

J. Lloyd Mecham on the Papacy and Spanish-American Independence. All three of these papers were read at the Indianapolis meeting of the American Historical Association in December. In the section of Documents are three accounts of the Expedition of Fernando Cortés, printed in Germany between 1520 and 1522, contributed, with an introduction, by H. R. Wagner. The accounts are given in English translations by Ruth Frey Axe. To the section of Notes and Comment T. P. Martin, assistant chief of the Manuscript Division in the Library of Congress, contributes an account of the transcripts, facsimiles, and manuscripts in the Spanish language in the Library of Congress, 1929. (Through error Mr. Martin is named in the table of contents as having contributed the Cortés documents and introduction.) In the Bibliographical Section are notes on the Hispanic American Bibliography and the Library of Congress Project B, the Report on the Proposed Critical Bibliography dealing with Hispanic American History, and the Inter-American Historical Series, by E. C. Richardson, A. C. Wilgus, and J. A. Robertson, respectively.

No. 28 of the Archivo Histórico Diplomático Mexicano is *La Labor Diplomática de D. Manuel Maria de Zamacona, como Secretario de Relaciones Exteriores*, the work of the late Antonio de la Peña y Reyes (Mexico City, 1928, pp. xxv, 160).

We have received a small pamphlet entitled: *El Instituto Hispano-Cubano de Historia de América: Nota Informativa sobre su Carácter y Funcionamiento*. The institute, founded in Seville by D. Rafael González-Abreu and occupying the historic Convento de los Remedios, has for its principal object the promotion of the study of American history in general and Cuban in particular, and, as a necessary preliminary to effectuating its purpose, it has sought to establish a library suitable to its purpose, but complementary to other libraries in Seville. The institute's first constructive undertaking has been the preparation, for the benefit of investigators, of a catalogue of the materials, printed and manuscript, relating to American history which are to be found in the repositories of Seville. Already, within the year, three such volumes have been published, bearing the general title *Catálogo Sistemático de los Fondos Cubanos del Archivo General de Indias*; and a first volume of a series, *Catálogo General de los Fondos Americanistas del Archivo de Protocolos de Sevilla*, is announced as in press. It is the purpose of the institute in due time to extend this series of catalogues to include similar materials in libraries elsewhere in Spain and to publish other helpful bibliographies and critiques. Finally, the institute announces as one of its objects coöperation with similar organizations in the Hispanic-American countries, and, in short, its aspiration to become "un centro vivo de cultura, que contribuya eficazmente a fomentar una relación de cordialidad y de inteligente comprensión entre todos los distintos Estados americanos y España".

As the first volume of their Collection of Documents the Academia de la Historia de Cuba has published *Actas de las Asambleas de Representantes y del Consejo de Gobierno durante la Guerra de Independencia*, I. (1895-1896), edited with an introduction by Joaquín Llaverías and Emeterio S. Santovenia (Havana, 1928, pp. xix, 165). The academy has also published *Epigrafía en Cuba*, by Dr. Juan M. Dihigo y Mestre, with many illustrations (*ibid.*, pp. 54).

The *Boletín del Archivo Nacional*, nos. 1-6 (Havana, 1928), contains the Correspondencia reservada de los Cónsules de España en los Estados Unidos de América con el Gobernador y Capitán General de la Isla de Cuba from December, 1819, to August, 1834.

In the Bibliothèque d'Études Historiques the third volume is *Histoire des Peuples Shoshones-Aztèques*, by Jean Genet (Paris, Les Éditions Genet, 1929, pp. 351). This is an important work by a competent author, who has already published a half dozen volumes on related subjects and at present has three others in press. The second chapter on the sources and the select bibliography are especially valuable. An index would be useful.

Five letters written by Hernando Cortés to the emperor between 1519 and 1526, describing his advance into Mexico, have been translated by J. B. Morris and published by McBride (New York) under the title *Hernando Cortés*.

Among the contents of the *Boletín del Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas* (Buenos Aires) may be noted in no. 37 an interesting account of the "Republic of Buenos Ayres", by an unidentified Frenchman, and in no. 38 the article on "El P. Joaquín Camaño y Bazán", cartographer, linguist, and historian. The documents published in the appendix are for 1818 and 1819. No. 41 is *La Expedición de Corso del Comodoro Guillermo Brown en Aguas del Pacífico (1815-1816)*, by J. T. Medina (Buenos Aires, 1928, pp. 53, with an appendix of documents, pp. lii). No. 43 is *Documentos Referentes a la Argentina en la Biblioteca Nacional y en el Depósito Hidrográfico de Madrid*, by José Torre Revello (*ibid.*, 1929, pp. 67). No. 44 is a bibliographical essay on Juan de Solórzano Pereira, by José Torre Revello, with appendixes listing the works of Pereira and giving a number of interesting documents. No. 45, *Los Corsarios del Río de la Plata*, by Theodore S. Currier of Simmons College, is of especial interest because of the influence of these privateers upon relations between the United States and the government of Buenos Aires.

Bolívar: El Libertador, by Michel Vaucaire, has been translated into English and published by Constable (London).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. Ernst, *Del Comercio en la América Precolombiana* (Cultura Venezolana, April, May, June, 1928); Thomas N. Toomey, M.D., *The First General Medical Treatise pub-*

lished in the Western Hemisphere [Venegas' *Compendio de la Medicina: ó Medicina Practica*; Mexico, 1788] (Annals of Medical History, March); Anon., *Colonial Forts of the Gulf Coast* (Coast Artillery Journal, March); *Colonial Forts on the Pacific Coast* (*ibid.*, May); Henry S. Spalding, *The Ethnologic Value of the Jesuit Relations* (American Journal of Sociology, March); Carl H. Kraeling, *In Quest of the Muhlenbergiana* (Lutheran Church Quarterly, April); Benjamin Rand, *Philosophical Instruction in Harvard University from 1636 to 1906* (Harvard Graduates' Magazine, March); A. R. M. Lower, *New France in New England* (New England Quarterly, April); Mary C. Hughes, *Reminiscences of Pioneer Teachers* (Catholic Educational Review, May); Harriet L. Herring, *Cycles of Cotton Mill Criticism* (South Atlantic Quarterly, April); Bernard Faÿ, *The Course of French-American Friendship* (Yale Review, Spring); Earle D. Ross, *Benjamin Franklin as an Agricultural Leader* (Journal of Political Economy, February); William Smith, *The Labrador Boundary Case* (Queen's Quarterly, Spring); Robert W. Neeser, *Historic Ships of the Navy: Ranger* (United States Naval Institute Proceedings, March); James M. Beck, *The Political Philosophy of George Washington* (Constitutional Review, April); Lawrence S. Mayo, *Jeremy Belknap and Ebenezer Hazard, 1782-1784* (New England Quarterly, April); Karl Fenning, *The Origin of the Patent and Copyright Clause of the Constitution* (Georgetown Law Journal, February); Casenava, *Les Émigrés Bonapartistes de 1815 aux États-Unis*, I., concl. (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XLIII. 1, 2); Gen. Tasker H. Bliss, *The Development of American Policy* (Foreign Affairs, April); Frank S. Perry, *James Madison and the Federal City* (Georgetown Law Journal, February); Harold U. Faulkner, *The Development of the American [Tariff] System* (Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, January); W. Y. Elliott, *Le Rôle Politique des Associations aux États-Unis*, I. (Revue des Sciences Politiques, January-March); Manley O. Hudson, *The "Injunction of Secrecy" with Respect to American Treaties* (American Journal of International Law, April); Charles S. Sydnor, *Pursuing Fugitive Slaves* (South Atlantic Quarterly, April); Rear-Ad. Elliot Snow, U. S. N. Retired, *The U. S. S. Niagara* (United States Naval Institute Proceedings, April); Capt. S. A. Ashe, *North Carolina in the War between the States* (Confederate Veteran, May); Maj. D. B. Sanger, *The Gettysburg Campaign* (Infantry Journal, May); Anon., *The Battles around Chattanooga* (Coast Artillery Journal, March); George H. Evans, *The Early History of Preferred Stock in the United States* (American Economic Review, March); W. L. Thompson, U. S. N., *The Virgin Islands of the United States* (United States Naval Institute Proceedings, April); Albert P. Taylor, *The Storming of the United States Consulate at Honolulu in 1870* (*ibid.*); David S. Muzzey, *Colonel House's Story* (Political Science Quarterly, March); Brig.-Gen. F. H. Pope, Q. M. C., *Reminiscences of the Motor Transport Corps in the*

A. E. F. (Quartermaster Review, March-April); Maj.-Gen. B. F. Cheatham, *Reminiscences of the World War* (*ibid.*); Charles E. Perry, *The Voice of New Hampshire in the Slave Controversy* (New Hampshire; formerly the Granite Monthly, February-March); Fred W. Lamb, *Four Chapters in [the] Early History of Manchester* (New Hampshire, February-March); R. L. Morrow, *The Liberty Party in Vermont* (New England Quarterly, April); Earl J. Bowman, *Efforts to Christianize the Indians of Pennsylvania, by the Moravians* (Lutheran Church Quarterly, April); Stringfellow Barr, *The Uncultured South* (Virginia Quarterly Review, April); M. W. Jernegan, *The Development of Poor Relief in Colonial Virginia* (Social Service Review, March); Désiré Pasquet, *La Formation de l'Orégon* (Revue Historique, January); Merton K. Cameron, *The Experience of Oregon with Popular Election and Recall of Public Service Commissioners* (Journal of Land and Public Utility Economics, February); Sir Andrew Macphail, *Sir Sandford Fleming [1827-1915]* (Queen's Quarterly, Spring); Sir A. T. Wilson, *The Monroe Doctrine and Latin-American States* (Edinburgh Review, April); Lieut. B. D. Gill, *The Triumvirate Influence in Mexican History* (Infantry Journal, May); Paul V. Shaw, *José Bonifacio, the Neglected Father of his Country, Brazil* (Political Science Quarterly, March).

NOTEWORTHY REVIEWS

Oswald Spengler, *Decline of the West*, by J. T. Shotwell (Current History, May); *Cambridge Medieval History*, V., by B. Schneidler (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, XXIV. 4); R. W. and A. J. Carlyle, *Mediaeval Political Theory in the West*, by F. M. Powicke (English Historical Review, April); N. Neilson (ed.), *The Cartulary and Terrier of Bilsington*, by Charles Johnson (*ibid.*); C. W. Previté-Orton (ed.), *The Defensor Pacis of Marsilius of Padua*, by James Sullivan (Speculum, April); C. Robinson (ed.), *Great Roll of the Pipe for 14 Henry III., Michaelmas 1230*, by J. F. Willard (*ibid.*); J. W. Thompson, *Feudal Germany* (London Times Literary Supplement, May 16); Gaston Zeller, *La Réunion de Metz à la France, 1552-1648*, by Wilhelm Mommsen (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, XXIV. 4); Guérard, *Life and Death of an Ideal*, by F. C. Palm (Journal of Modern History, June); Harry Elmer Barnes, *Die Entstehung des Weltkrieges* [tr. of *Genesis of the War*], by Alfred Stern (Historische Zeitschrift, CXL. 1); Sidney B. Fay, *Origins of the War* (London Times Literary Supplement, April 25); John B. Brebner, *New England's Outpost*, by Adolf Hasenclever (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXXIX. 3); Garner, *American Foreign Policies*, by C. R. Fish (Journal of Modern History, June).

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